The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

Hamburg, 13 September 1973
Twelfth Year - No. 596 - By air

C 20725 C

Deadlock over West Berlin in Bonn-Prague talks

Frankfurter Neue Presse

Chancellor Brandt's cancellation of his visit to Czechoslovakia represents the first open conflict in the context of Bonn's *Ostpolitik*. It is the first time a major deadline has fallen by the wayside.

The Czech government's refusal to countenance full representation of West Berlin by Bonn is no more than the superficial pretext. Bonn and Prague would probably have reached agreement if Czechoslovakia had been fully able to make its own decision.

But the Kremlin wielded off-stage influence and Prague was unable to come to terms with Bonn. As on previous occasions the Soviet leadership felt it opportune to penalise Bonn for what in the Kremlin's view was an ill-advised attitude by bringing pressure to bear on West Berlin.

The postponement of Willy Brandt's Prague visit is a gesture of protest at a new chapter in Soviet power politics aimed at interpreting the Four-Power agreement on West Berlin in a way that runs counter to the interests of the Federal Republic.

At the same time Moscow is voicing disappointment with the slow progress of economic cooperation between this country and the Soviet Union.

In the circumstances it is hardly surprising that Moscow's satellites adopt the same, recalcitrant attitude in their talks with Bonn. The Kremlin is certainly pursuing a policy of pin-pricks directed at West Berlin and levelling accusations in the Soviet press.

Bonn cannot of course remain up in arms against the chill winds from Moscow for any length of time. To go back on any part of *Ostpolitik* so far implemented would not only to leave the fold of continuing rapprochement between the United States and the Soviet Union; it would also impose severe domestic strain on a government that has forged ahead with policy towards the Eastern Bloc come what may. Bonn continues to be subject to its own pace. There can be no going back.

Work is probably already in progress on a compromise designed principally to satisfy the economic expectations of the Soviet Union. Tax-payers in this country will have to subsidise industrial and technological aid to the Eastern Bloc countries in the form of low interest rates.

The odds are that once Bonn agrees to subsidise interest rates the Soviet Union and its allies will be as willing to compromise on West Berlin as this country could wish — at least for the time being.

The Bonn government would nonetheless be well advised to consider whether or not the course of *Ostpolitik* so far has been sufficiently proofed against mishap. Had the Federal government only been tougher, particularly in respect of West Berlin, and negotiated (or enjoined the Western Allies to negotiate) more foolproof accords, the latest difficulties, coming as they do only a matter of months after Mr Brezhnev's visit to Bonn, could have been avoided.

At the moment both the Chancellor and the Foreign Office seem to be laying the blame for the difficulties that have arisen at the door of Egon Bahr, Willy Brandt's special adviser on relations with the Eastern Bloc.

Certainly, Herr Bahr's optimistic assumption that diplomatic give and take is the best way of making progress in *Ostpolitik* does not stand up to close examination at present.

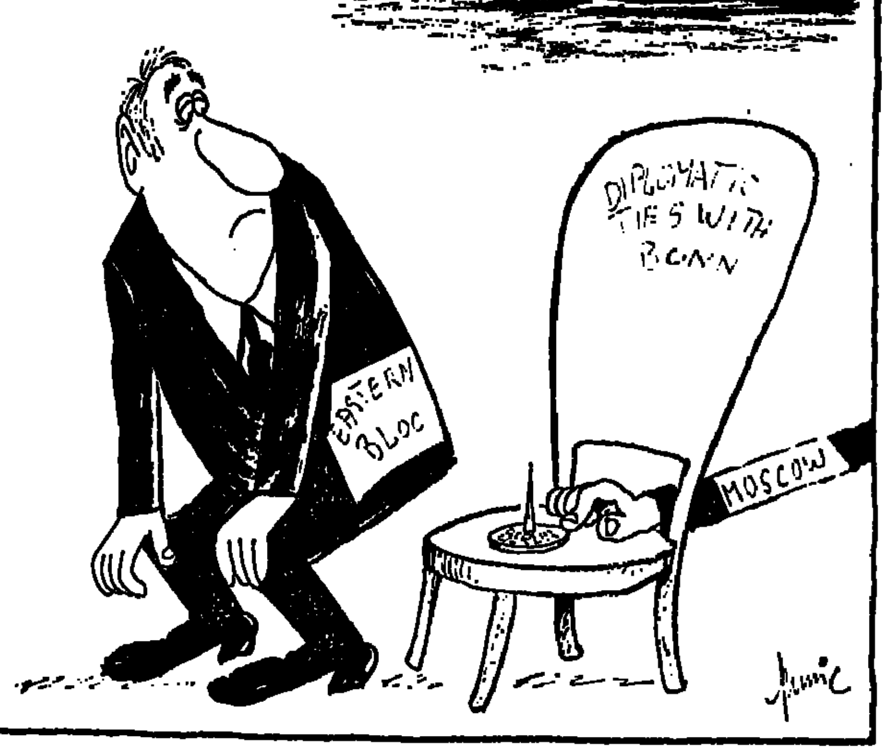
Let us hope that the approval expressed by the Opposition Christian Democrats of the Chancellor's current stand proves to have been more than a fly-by-night.

At a critical foreign policy juncture the Chancellor must, of course, welcome domestic support, but the Opposition ought also to realise how difficult it is for the Federal Republic to maintain its power-political balance in relations with a world power that is in a position to bring influence to bear well beyond the banks of the Rhine.

Bonn's stand against Soviet suzerainty must have the full backing of the Western alliance unless it is to disintegrate at the next opportunity. On its own the German dachshund remains a mere plaything in the paws of the Russian bear.

Robert Schmelzer

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 3 September 1973)



(Cartoon: Felix Mussil/Frankfurter Rundschau)

Berlin remains key to detente in Europe

From the very day it came into force fifteen months ago the Four-Power agreement on Berlin was bound to run into difficulties and differences of opinion as regards interpretation.

The general phrasing of the text, its easily apparent omissions and compromise formulas that were not invariably unambiguous presupposed that the same spirit of understanding would prevail in its subsequent implementation as characterised the round-table talks in the old Allied Control Commission building in West Berlin's Kleistpark. Otherwise difficulties were bound to ensue.

For several weeks now it has been apparent that Bonn's talks with Prague, Budapest and East Berlin threaten to run into deadlock (or, as in the case of the sports negotiations, not even to leave the starting-blocks) over the matter of representation of West Berlin by Bonn.

The extent to which the GDR has adopted a less resilient approach was soon apparent to Bonn State Secretary Günther Erkel when his GDR counterpart Ranke stated, in the context of negotiations about an agreement on legal assistance between the two states, that West Berlin could not, of course, be included in the agreement's terms of reference because of the Four-Power agreement.

It is thus hardly surprising that the GDR has lodged protests against plans to set up a Federal Environmental Protection Authority in West Berlin, although protests have so far been restricted to articles in *Neues Deutschland*, the official East Berlin newspaper.

The argument used in *Pravda* the previous day was reiterated. The projected Environmental Protection Authority was, it was argued, a Bonn government agency outside the territory of the Federal Republic.

This, *Neues Deutschland* continued, ran counter to the provisions of the Four-Power agreement, according to which West Berlin does not form a part of and is not governed by the Federal Republic. Bonn may have hoped that an environmental protection agency would not have given rise to such ideological and legal complications.

There can be little doubt as to who is responsible for the trouble. Moscow seems to be in a huff because of the slow progress of economic talks by which Mr Brezhnev had set great store in the course of his visit to Bonn and has slammed on the anchors for the time being even though the Four-Power agreement unquestionably permits further development of ties between West Berlin and this country.

Even the Berlin radio show, which opened in West Berlin on 31 August, reflects the tension, having been boycotted by the Soviet Union and the GDR.

Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and Rumania are taking part, as indeed they may, the Four-Power agreement expressly allowing West Berlin to stage international exhibitions. But Moscow and East Berlin chose not to come despite the concession made in the form of there being no official opening ceremony attended by Bonn government Ministers this year.

Moscow's tactics of referring only to the sections of the Four-Power agreement that suit its purposes and coveniently forgetting the others have added fuel to latent fears in West Berlin lest the Soviet Union be aiming in the long term at undermining the ties between West Berlin and the Federal Republic, expecting the West to grow sick and tired of recurring Berlin problems and eventually leave this country to its own devices.

The Bonn government does not have

Continued on page 3

■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

China advises Europe to stand on its own two feet

Frankfurter Rundschau

Chou En-lai's latest advice to a Dutch parliamentary delegation in Peking was not what you might call spectacular. The Chinese Premier told them what he and his associates have been *telling* the Europeans for some time: to stand on their own two feet.

This tallies with the Chinese foreign policy line of the past four or five years, yet its reiteration is not without significance. The thirteen Dutchmen were the first European parliamentarians to be granted an audience by the Chinese Premier since Peking's reversion to a more open foreign policy.

Chou En-lai did not stop short at going into detail on his country's principal opponent. Europe, he urged, must progress towards political unity. It ought not to rely exclusively on the policy of detente, thereby ending up defenceless. It must be able to defend *itself* and cannot afford to neglect armaments.

This, then, is the substance of the advice given by the Chinese Premier. As Lenin said, confidence is good, control is better. Peace is safeguarded not only by concluding agreements but also by being able to defend oneself.

In Peking's eyes detente in Western Europe is closely connected with tension in East Asia. In the Chinese capital (as elsewhere) suspicions are rife that General Secretary Brezhnev adopted Premier Kosygin's detente approach in 1970 for reasons other than the realisation that it made sense or the pressure brought to bear by economic strain that forced Moscow to relax *temporarily* the pace of its armaments programme.

Another reason for the policy of detente with Western Europe was the opportunity of transferring to the Chinese border troops that had previously been stationed along the Warsaw Pact's Western flank. The Soviet Union has undoubtedly boosted its military potential along the borders of Turkestan, Siberia and the Mongolian People's Republic.

It is doubtful, to say the least, whether Moscow is seriously considering the pre-emptive strike reported recently by one news agency as being a plan dating back to 1969.

Almost exactly five years ago Moscow came to realise the drawbacks of an attempt to force an insubordinate Communist neighbour into submission by military means. The occupation of Czechoslovakia may have been brilliant as a military manoeuvre, but its political repercussions were disastrous.

Ever since this application of the Brezhnev Doctrine the Soviet Communist Party has been engaged in laborious attempts to regain prestige – even among fellow-Communists in other countries. A military success may prove an utter rout in political terms.

It is doubtful, for that matter, whether a coup of this kind directed against China would succeed. The Soviet Union does, of course, possess an arms stockpile sufficient to devastate the Chinese economy and a large part of the Chinese people.

At the same time the Soviet Union cannot *occupy* and thus politically eliminate China. Besides, Moscow stands to sustain substantial nuclear devastation *itself* at the hands of Chinese missiles.

China is no longer defenceless in modern warfare, which is potentially a good deal more "total" than in Hitler's days. With the advent of Soviet MIRVs and the like the balance of power may agan have changed in Moscow's favour but in the long term this will not always be the case.

The military threat remains part and parcel of the conflict, but for the most part the political aspect is predominant. This being the case, the main political instrument in safeguarding a country's interests – classical diplomacy – must be put to greater use.

Fine words on their own are of little use. Friends must be won and possible contradictions between non-friends exploited. This is how China is gaining ground in its own principal contradiction, that with the Soviet Union.

At all events, this accounts for China's attention towards Europe. It is not a Platonic love affair or disinterested altruism but a realistic quest for possible allies.

Political criticism, hitherto the main condiment in the Chinese media cuisine, is having to take a back seat. Reports by Chinese journalists from Europe now no longer contain an attack on the capitalist system. Security considerations take pride of place.

It would also be a grave mistake to assume that the Chinese can or want to mastermind revolutionary struggles in Western Europe. This, the Chinese maintain, is a task for the countries themselves. Chinese theoreticians are nowhere near claiming the universal validity to which the Soviet leadership aspires.

Moscow's policy towards China definitely remains influenced by the Soviet claim to leadership, although nonsense has been made of this claim now that the Soviet Union, in trying to encircle China from its southern, Asian flank, has joined forces with bourgeois and feudal regimes under the guise of a socialist class policy.

The Chinese are more honest. They too form alliances with countries opposed to one super-power or the other, but do not claim that this directly benefits the revolution. This claim was not made by Chou En-lai in his talks with the Dutch visitors. He merely reiterated an offer.

Karl Grobe
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 27 August 1973)

Slow progress towards common foreign policy

In Bonn and other Common Market capitals the so-called Second Luxembourg Report by European Community Foreign Ministers has been approved without much fuss. The resolutions it contains represent a technical rather than a qualitative improvement in foreign policy cooperation between member-countries.

Little more was to be expected, the final communiqué of the October 1972 Paris summit having defined the nine Foreign Ministers' terms of reference extremely vaguely and circumspectly.

The aim of foreign policy cooperation, the Premiers of the Nine resolved, must be to deal with topical issues and, within the realms of the possible, draft joint viewpoints on longer-term foreign policy issues, taking the consequences of Common Market policies proper for foreign relations into account.

It is thus hardly surprising that the Second Report contains even more organisational trivia than its predecessor, which inaugurated Common Market foreign policy cooperation in 1970.

For instance, in future the political departments of the Nine's Foreign Ministries will be able to exchange details of classified documents by teleprinter – in code, of course.

At present the Bonn Foreign Office can only relay a classified document to the Quai d'Orsay in Paris by sending it in code to the Federal Republic's embassy there, where it is decoded and taken round to the French Foreign Ministry.

Alternatively, the details can be supplied to the French embassy in Bonn and the French despatch it in code to Paris.

A resolution similar in "significance" to the future joint telex code is the decision to appoint a "correspondent" for political cooperation in each of the Nine's embassies.

In the first report Common Market ambassadors in Washington, Moscow and elsewhere were enjoined to compare notes as far as possible. This time there are, in certain circumstances, to draft joint situation reports as well.

All this is as important (or not, as the case may be) as the decision that the Common Market's committee of political directors is to convene even more often or that the Foreign Ministers are to discuss political cooperation at special meetings four time a year instead of twice or three times a year in the past.

Two items contained in the report could prove important, however. They are:

– that the directors of planning at the nine Foreign Ministries form a working party with the aim of ensuring that long-term foreign policy plans are not drafted entirely in ignorance of the other countries' plans

– and that as a rule Common Market countries first consult each other before making major foreign policy moves.

It is, of course, wishful thinking to imagine that cooperation between planning directors might lead directly to a joint foreign policy, but this aspect of cooperation might yet prove instrumental in gradually eliminating the obstacles.

Little progress need be expected for as long as defence matters remain taboo, though.

It remains to be seen whether the decision to consult before taking decisions works. A certain amount will depend on the extent to which Paris shows willing in the near future.

In nearly all sectors of political cooperation the other eight countries would be prepared to progress more swiftly, particularly as regards closer ties between the committee of political directors and the Eurocrats in Brussels.

At the moment Paris seems to be cock-a-hoop at having averted the establishment of a common political secretariat even though the idea was first mooted two years ago by President Pompidou, who insisted that the secretariat be set up in Paris rather than in Brussels alongside the other Common Market institutions.

No one apart from the French is interested in, to quote a non-French diplomat, "an HQ where French foreign policy is relayed to the other Common Market countries."

Erich Hauser
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 29 August 1973)

Dr Waldheim's Middle East mission

Süddeutsche Zeitung

As a mediator if as nothing else the United Nations does not enjoy m... of reputation in the Middle East. ... Arabs have long since been forced ... realise that they need expect no effe... assistance from the UN in regaining ... territory lost in the 1967 war. As fo... Israelis, they frequently feel unf... treated as a result of majorities that ... against them in the General Assembly a... the Security Council.

Even so, the United Nations re... involved. Security Council resolution ... 242 is still considered the fundam... peace formula, entailing as it does safe... guaranteed frontiers for the Jewish ... in return for an Israeli withdrawal f... the greater part of the occ... territories.

On his tour of Syria, Lebanon, ... Egypt and Jordan UN Secretary-Gen... Kurt Waldheim will have aimed mainly ... ascertaining how feasible this form ... now is.

It stands to reason that sp... mediation proposals cannot be expe... to result from the first visit to the Mi... East by a UN Secretary-General ... 1967, when U Thant paid the regi... visit.

At the same time political attemp... bring about a compromise have rea... such a standstill that Dr Waldheim's ... may even represent the first prospect ... fresh start.

He will at least be able to dete... whether or not prospects of a sol... exist in the countries concerned. ... virtue of the moral authority vested in ... office he might even succeed ... identifying something (however li... more than the evident desire on the p... of all concerned to steer clear of a ... call to arms at the present juncture.

Dr Waldheim's mission is not on... warrants optimism, however. ... Cabinet Minister Galili, who ... frequently seem to be a spokesman ... Prime Minister Mrs Meir, warned D... Waldheim in advance not to make ... mediator Gunnar Jarring of Swed... mistake and expect Israel to decla... priori readiness to withdraw. ... insisted on direct negotiations, to w... the Arabs will not consent.

Instead of hoping that the Un... Nations might come up with a solut... everyone in the Middle East curren... feels that the United States has a key r...

Continued on page 3

The German Tribune

Publisher: Friedrich Reinecke. Editor-in-Chief: Otto Heinz. Editor: Alexander Anthony. English language sub-editor: Geoffrey Penny. Distribution Manager: Georgine von Platen. Advertising Manager: Peter Boeckmann.

Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH, 23 Schoene Aussicht, Hamburg 76. Tel.: 2 20 51. Telex: 02 14733. Bonn bureau: Konrad Kadlubowski, 66 Adenauerallee, 53 Bonn. Tel.: 22 61 53. Telex 08 86398.

Advertising rates list No. 10 – Annual subscription DM 25.

Printed by Krögers Buch- und Verlagsdruckerei, Hamburg-Blankenese. Distributed in the USA by: MASS MAILINGS, Inc. 540 West 58th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.

All articles which THE GERMAN TRIBUNE reprint are published in cooperation with the editorial staffs of leading newspapers of the Federal Republic of Germany. They are complete translations of the original text, in no way abridged nor editorially redrafted. THE GERMAN TRIBUNE also publishes a Quarterly Review; and a Supplement, articles selected from German periodicals.

In all correspondence please quote your subscription number which appears on the wrapper to the left of your address.

■ DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

Helmut Kohl urges CDU to accept treaties as a fact

In his capacity as national Chairman of the CDU Helmut Kohl stated in public on 29 August that the treaties with the East, which originally were signed against the will of the Chritian Democrats, would be the basis for the CDU's future policy.

Kohl thereby announced a decisive change in his party's policies, a change that has been on the horizon for some time now.

The first "union" politician to state publicly that when treaties had been ratified they were "sanctified" and thus had to be respected was the CSU Chairman Franz Josef Strauss.

But the practical policies pursued by the CSU up till now left it in doubt whether this statement by the Christian Social Union leader was to be taken seriously by himself and his party.

But without doubt the pointer given by the former CDU General Secretary Konrad Kraske was meant to be taken seriously. He spoke of the "new realities" that the treaties with the East had created and the reorientation of CDU policy that this would necessitate.

CDU treasurer Walther Leisler-Kiep, who voted in favour of the Basic Treaty between the GDR and FRG, has tried on many occasions to bring his party round to a realistic attitude towards the treaties with the East.

Now the party Chairman, with all the authority vested in him, has made a similar statement. He has obviously startled or even horrifeld some of his party colleagues by what he said. But those who are really concerned for the future of the Christian Democratic Union will have come to terms with the fact that the party must change its principles in accordance with constantly changing circumstances if it wishes to have a marked effect on the future of the country.

What are these changed circumstances in this particular case? The East Bloc treaties were ratified by democratic processes and came into force through all the normal legal channels. No one can now unilaterally declare them null and void.

The overwhelming bulk of the people of this country is wholeheartedly in favour of these detente treaties. No party can win voters by putting up a delayed resistance to these *faits accomplis*. Such resistance is far more likely to lose a party support it already enjoys.

This is all the more true, since human easements in the wake of these treaties have been made and seen to be made, even though they may have fallen short of some of the more optimistic hopes in certain cases. The Bonn government's policy in concluding treaties with the

Lübecker Nachrichten

communist countries to the East has met with the approval of our Nato allies in the West.

One of the most bitter fruits the CDU has had to swallow with regard to the treaties with Warsaw, Moscow and East Berlin is that they have failed to receive the backing of sister parties in other countries. Western Christian Democracy has been for the most part in favour of the Brandt detente line.

Thus the Federal Republic's Christian Democrats have driven themselves into an isolated position, and if they want to escape from this predicament they must give themselves a firm footing by accepting the Ostpolitik and the resultant treaties.

Helmut Kohl is a forward-looking politician and has recognised the facts. The problem facing him is how he can make his party colleagues accept willingly the treaties which many of them still regard as the work of the Devil.

Kohl sent out the first feelers at the least sensitive moment. He did not wait until an election was on the doorstep, but chose the less obtrusive method of having an interview published in a publication that is not so often in the limelight.

With the basic demand that his party should respect the treaties with the East, Helmut Kohl has at the same time given the CDU the task of acting as watchdog. It is up to the Christian Democrats to ensure that the opportunities offered by these treaties be used to the full.

This is a very important role for an Opposition party to play, since it is far less bound to pay heed to the sensitivities of the treaty partner than the government must do.

But the Opposition will not carry out this watchdog job effectively if it wastes too much energy on opportunism and petty carping over trivial points, such as the map published by the Minister for inter-German relations before the Karlsruhe Constitutional Court decision on the legality of the Basic Treaty, in which the border between the Federal Republic and Democratic Republic was drawn in exactly the same fashion as that between this country and Czechoslovakia.

This is not the way in which the CDU/CSU can achieve what Kohl hopes for, namely that the declaration of intent in the treaties that greater humanity will be shown, should become a political reality as quickly as possible.

Helmut Kohl has taken a courageous and certainly very necessary step. His predecessor Rainer Barzel had said that anyone who wanted to carry out the CDU/CSU foreign policy aims "must use the new political landscape to his advantage and make sure that changed conditions on the international scene are used to the CDU's advantage. We cannot do this if we are standing offside."

We must wish Kohl all the best and hope that he has more success in bringing this home to his party than Barzel did.

Werner Neumann
(Lübecker Nachrichten, 30 August 1973)

Continued from page 2

to play now that the Soviet Union has largely had to withdraw from the region.

In Israel speculation about Dr Waldheim's visit was superseded by consideration of the repercussions Dr Kissinger's appointment as US Secretary of State may have on the Middle East.

Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban noted reassuringly that the change at the top did not involve a change in America's ... pro-Israeli stand.

Even so, reports about imminent Arab boycotts of the United States and anxiety ... supplies of crude oil decline to a ... make Israeli politicians wonder whether Henry Kissinger might not introduce new ideas, conceivably even going so far as to "mediate" between Israel and its neighbours.

UN Secretary-General Waldheim may unwittingly have played the part of a reconnaissance officer.

Manfred F. Schröder
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 27 August 1973)

Berlin is key to detente

Continued from page 1

much leeway unless it is prepared to jeopardise the viability of West Berlin. Flexible it may be in negotiations, but it cannot afford to countenance any undermining of the Four-Power agreement and must insist that its terms be fulfilled both to the letter and in the spirit envisaged in order to ensure that detente is not stymied.

Berlin remains the key to detente in Europe. Moscow may merely be trying its hand in order to determine the extent to which this remains the case. On more than one occasion in the past the Soviet Union has overcalled its hand on this point. This is something that Moscow would do well to remember.

Annamarie Doherr
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 1 September 1973)

Promiscuous flirting spells danger for FDP

High summer was a time for quiet reflection in the FDP on the possibility that sooner or later the stock of points held in common, and thus the reasons for remaining in coalition, with the SPD would be exhausted.

But with the approach of autumn Free Democrats have rediscovered the SPD/FDP coalition, not only as an object that exists, but also as one with a future.

Social Democrats and Free Democrats are both filled with the feeling that they must get back to work if they are to make up in this legislative period for the promises they left unfulfilled in the last, namely to carry out basic, urgently needed reforms.

Now that they are freed from fears for their existence, watching their slim parliamentary majority whittled away, the Coalition partners can go back to their original aims. At least they can in theory.

In practice they will have to prove that the previous lack of action on the domestic policy scene for fear of upsetting certain individuals who might have been encouraged to defect has not simply been replaced by an inability to coordinate large groups.

Like the SPD the FDP is not free from internal battles over policy and the direction in which the party should be steering. But it is not from purely arithmetical considerations that the Free Democrats will continue to hold a key role in the Coalition in the coming years.

Without the FDP there will be no worker participation in management, no major tax reform, no progress made towards new ways of ensuring the acquisition of capital wealth by private individuals and no reform of land laws.

It is almost certain that of these four reforms, which the Brandt/Scheel government has said are of paramount importance, at the most two and perhaps fewer will be passed in the near future. The only measure that has a really good chance of getting through is worker participation.

A short while ago it seemed quite likely that the FDP would select one of the great proposed reforms and prevent its being passed to flex its muscles within the Socialist/Liberal coalition, but now such a dog-in-the-manger act appears less likely.

The party is without doubt feeling a strong following breeze, since it has managed to shake off its old image as a loser, but it must not be forgotten that in the next two years the FDP must fight to win its way back to three provincial assemblies (Lower Saxony, Saar, Schleswig-Holstein) from which it was booted out at the height of the restratification of the electorate in this country.

Nor will the FDP be able to consider the other provincial assembly elections a walk over. It seems clear that the FDP will have to take a firm stand against the SPD if it wants to stand out as an independent party (except in Bavaria, where the Christian Social Union presents a quite natural antagonist).

Adverse effects on the Bonn Coalition cannot thus be ruled out, even though the SPD leadership will go out of its way to coddle and spoil its smaller coalition partner.

Willy Brandt, Herbert Wehner, Helmut Schmidt and Heinz Kühn, quite apart from the fact that they need the FDP as a pretext for refusing the more extravagant demands of members of their own party, are constantly warning the FDP about the danger of playing with shifting majorities.

To put it more clearly this means that when important legislation is to be passed it can only get through the Bundestag if SPD and FDP have reached agreement on it.

If such agreement cannot be reached no one should delude himself into thinking that he can push his ideas through by borrowing a majority from the Opposition. The most propitious action in this case is none at all.

The decisions taken will not always be dramatic. Nor will there be a time when people will say, "Now we have missed the boat for sure."

It was Wolfgang Mischnick, floor leader of the FDP, who re-discovered the old truism that no major reform had much chance of passing the Bundestag if the Bill had not been introduced before the halfway stage in the legislative period. This idea might even be too optimistic. Anyone who wants to apply the brakes can do so well before the halfway stage is reached.

There are doubts about whether the FDP is mature enough to fulfil its role and the dilemma this presents. Can the party and its leaders get to grips with being in a key position? They will not find things as easy again as they were last year. It is rarely that a party can win an election on the strength of the mistakes made its opponents.

Walter Scheel has without doubt gained in political strength. But this seems to apply more to Scheel the Foreign Minister than Scheel the party chairman.

He and the party had good fortune in having found in the late Karl-Hermann Flach a General Secretary with a flair for leadership. Flach's death has robbed the FDP of an integrating force which they would have needed even more in the next few years than in the past.

When the FDP national congress in Wiesbaden in November elects a successor to Flach it may become evident that the Free Democrats are not over-endowed with potential leaders.

This may make them the more susceptible to temptations to duck their internal problems, paper over the cracks with words and end up incapable of making decisions.

Hans Reiser
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 28 August 1973)

■ PROFILE

Paul Frank of the Foreign Office, Bonn's new Eastern Bloc link man

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Bonn's continuing Ostpolitik is now no longer linked with the name of Egon Bahr alone. In the past few months State Secretary Paul Frank of the Foreign Office has become involved in negotiations with Eastern Europe.

Frank is currently deliberating with deputy Czech Foreign Minister Jiri Goetz in an attempt to drag Bonn's Ostpolitik out of its critical phase or, if need be, to impose his veto on Czech demands.

It would not be the first time that Frank has failed to reach the desired goal in talks with Prague. He has already conducted several series of negotiations with Czech government representatives and though they seemed to be heading for a successful conclusion after an amount of to-ing and fro-ing they have now become bogged down shortly before the goal.

But Frank looks upon the ups and downs of negotiations with Eastern Europe almost as a matter of course. He has after all encountered difficulties in places other than Prague. Talks in Moscow and Warsaw have already provided him with ample experience.

The fact that Paul Frank, 55, is the senior civil servant in the Foreign Office, is however anything but a matter of course. He does not come from one of the well-known families, he is not a lawyer and he has not enjoyed one of those proverbial careers that automatically lead to the top echelons of the Foreign Office.

Frank does not fit into the traditional picture of a diplomat either. The only thing he has in common with people like Hallstein, Blankenhorn, Grewe and Carstens is his position – not their style. Frank cannot be described as a legally-minded civil servant of the type that has ruled the Foreign Office over the past twenty years.

Frank took his first steps on the diplomatic stage under the watchful eye of the man who helped the Foreign Office regain its reputation in the Western world after it had fallen into discredit during the years of Nazi rule.

The man was Wilhelm Hausenstein, a writer and consul general in Paris, and he achieved this by means of his intellectual prowess and not the more traditional legalistic correctness.

Hausenstein summoned Frank to Paris in 1950 as his personal adviser. Hausenstein later gave him an excellent reference: "My personal adviser is an intellectual blessed with imagination and a sense of reality. He also possesses great administrative talents."

Before going to Paris Frank, the son of a Centre Party politician who was also an artisan, had studied economics and politics in Freiburg and Switzerland and written a dissertation on the currency reform of 1948.

Frank's career was not all that remarkable initially. Until 1960 he was an adviser on issues concerning Western Europe and North Africa. He was then a member of the Federal republic's legation to the United Nations until appointed subdepartmental head on the Foreign Office's planning staff in 1963.

Frank started his climb to the top when he was appointed head of the first political department in 1968 shortly after Willy Brandt become Foreign Minister. Frank remained Brandt's protégé even after he became Chancellor. When a successor to State Secretary Duckwitz had to be appointed in 1970 Chancellor Brandt recommended Paul Frank to the new Foreign Minister Walter Scheel.

Frank's good relations with Brandt are not based on party political ties. State Secretary Frank has avoided taking sides throughout the whole of his career. He has even served Christian Democratic Ministers without being influenced by their fixation on America and Western Europe.

Frank adopted a middle-of-the-road course in the mid-sixties when a battle broke out in the Foreign Office between pro-Europeans and the advocates of Atlantic partnership. Frank eventually reached the peak of his career without possessing the appropriate party card.

Both Brandt and Scheel were attracted by Frank's gifts of analysis and planning. Not all his plans and ideas may be thought out with the ultimate in legalistic finesse but Frank prefers diplomatic flexibility to dogmatic persistence.

Frank was born in Konstanz and therefore comes from an area that, apart from being deeply religious, proved a breeding-ground for political liberalism. He caused a great stir in the mid-sixties when he claimed that diplomats did not face any clash of conscience until they were forced to remain silent on the fourth floor while able to hear the screams of a man being tortured in the basement.

Frank also called for the public prosecutor to intervene when the substance of telegrams from the Federal Republic's embassy in Washington to headquarters in Bonn were leaked to the public. But instances of this type remained isolated episodes in Frank's career.

The reason for this over-reaction may also lie in Frank's unshakeable sense of loyalty to his superiors. "I have sworn an oath to the Federal Republic and I shall remain loyal while I work alongside democratic ministers," he once said.

Though of a different temperament, Foreign Minister Walter Scheel will appreciate his State Secretary's attitude as well as his tenacity. The most striking example of Frank's tenacity was when he flew to Seoul after the spectacular kidnapping of South Korean scientists and students from the Federal Republic. After a week of negotiations he managed to obtain the release of the vast majority.



Paul Frank

(Photo: Interpress/Bundesbildstelle)

But Frank is also concerned with protecting the interests of the Foreign Office. There is a continual state of conflict between him and his rival Egon Bahr. In recent years there has been no end to events revealing the rivalry between the Chancellor's Office and the Foreign Office.

When for instance the Foreign Office only learnt of the preparations for Chancellor Brandt's visit to the Crimea to meet Leonid Brezhnev two years ago at the same time as the press, Frank declined to go on the trip.

And during negotiations with Prague Frank, consciously or subconsciously, has always adopted a different type of approach, partly in order to create more of an image for himself.

But unlike many of his predecessors Frank does not step across the line that separates civil servants from politicians. He does not see himself a leading actor on the political stage but as a hard worker behind the scenes. And the success or failure of the whole venture depends on these background activities.

Heinz Verfürth

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 21 August 1973)

Tragic death of Free Democrat Karl-Hermann Flach at age 43

Karl-Hermann Flach, the Free Democrats' first General Secretary and indeed the man for whom this position was tailor-made, died on 25 August at the age of 43. He has repeatedly been described as the FDP's business manger or chief ideologist, especially in recent months.

Though he did not like the descriptions, he was both. The FDP will find it hard to find a replacement of anything like equal stature even though Flach himself had been making preparations for his departure from party headquarters in Bonn.

It was his desire for a change and not the feeling of imminent physical decline that led Flach to ponder over new branches of activity.

He never complained about having to spend three years of his short life in hospital. After his bout of tuberculosis – a result of the war – and seven serious operations he acted as though the only physical problem he faced was his weight, But he lacked five ribs, his gall bladder, part of his lung and a kidney.

Flach liked travelling between his "two worlds", entering politics as a journalist and vice-versa. At the start of the summer recess he left Bonn full of ideas for both his professions. He planned to return in the final week of August after holidaying at home in the Taunus.

Karl-Hermann Flach was born in Konigsberg on 18 October 1929, the son of a timber merchant. During the final year of the war he fled to Mecklenburg with his mother and sister.



Karl-Hermann Flach

(Photo: Sven Simon)

In 1946 he joined the Schwerin branch of the Liberal Democratic Party and started work at the *Norddeutsche Zeitung*, an LPD newspaper. He fled from the Soviet Zone to West Berlin in 1949 shortly before a Russian military tribunal could sentence him to 25 year's hard labour for subversive activities.

Flach studied politics in Berlin and after graduation worked as an economics editor in Frankfurt in 1954 and 1955. He then switched to FDP headquarters in Bonn and was the party's business manager from 1959 to 1961.

In 1962 he replaced Conrad Ahlers on the editorial staff of the *Frankfurter Rundschau* becoming deputy editor in 1964 and a member of the publishing board in 1970. Flach was elected FDP General Secretary in October 1971 and became a member of the Bundestag in November 1972.

He looked upon his position of General Secretary as temporary and planned to give up the post when his term of office ran out next year. He then wanted to devote more time to his work as deputy chairman of the FDP's Bundestag group.

He also hoped to gain more time for "thinking, reading and writing" and also thought about returning to journalism – though not because he was fed up with his political activities.

Flach was a fair politician and as a journalist a respected political commentator. He propagated the cause of "social liberalism" in both his capacities. He analyses the origins of the Free Democrats against the background of the dualism that affected German liberalism.

He always kept an eye on the two tendencies of German liberalism, the one emerging from a petty bourgeois and democratic source in south Germany and the other from the nationalist, upper middle class circles in the North. As he was well aware of these twin bases of German liberalism he was more consistent than other politicians in fighting the danger of a split.

Twice he served his party in times of need, though the first time the FDP was a different party from the one it is today. As head of the party's election campaign he helped Erich Mende's FDP increase its share of the vote from 7.7 to 12.8 per cent in 1961 and helped Walter Scheel increase the party's following from 5.8 to 8.4 per cent in 1972.

Two years ago he published a pamphlet outlining his theories about the role and opportunities of the FDP in the play of forces between the CDU/CSU and SPD. He entitled it *Another Chance for the Liberals* and often referred to it as "my little green book". It has also been described as the Liberals' Bible.

Recently Flach adopted a policy of partial confrontation where the SPD was concerned in an attempt to reveal the true face of the FDP. This drew sarcastic

Continued on page 5

■ GOVERNMENT

Red tape simplification makes everyone a twelve-figure number

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

The Cabinet has submitted the Federal Registration Bill to the Bundestag for further debate. A number of points in the Bill – drawn up by the Ministry of the Interior – may be changed but it is already certain that the new act will introduce a number of changes.

Every citizen of the Federal Republic will be given a personal identity number and registry offices will make greater use of modern computer techniques.

This simplification of procedure prompts the question of whether there could be any misuse of the information at the disposal of the authorities once the new registration act is passed.

The new proposals have been described as a further step towards a world enslaved by computers. They have also been dubbed a pace-setting prototype for efficient modern administration.

Interior Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher is aiming for a nationwide standardisation of registration procedure with his Bill. Above all, he wishes to provide the authorities with the legal basis to take advantage of the rationalisation measures resulting from the use of computers.

The authors of the Bill reject claims that the Federal Registration Law could be interpreted as a step back to the notorious registration law of 1938 which was replaced after the end of the war by the Federal states' own regulations.

The express aim of the planned registration law is, they claim, a liberal procedure causing residents the minimum of bother. The Federal states have already taken a step in this direction, they state.

But there are already doubts about the validity of this claim. Because of the security programme decided by the Interior Ministers Conference the Bill proposes that hotels should register their guests and that the hotel owner should check his guests' identity and pass on the information to the appropriate authority.

Are we in the Federal Republic now to be forced to fill in forms and show our papers, as normal in most countries? The Bundestag will have to decide whether law and order is threatened to such an extent as to justify this step.

As far as other registration procedure is concerned, there is an obvious desire to make things as simple as possible. There will still be a need to register with the authorities when moving into a new home though people will no longer be required to de-register when they move out of the area. This will only be necessary when they move outside the Federal Republic and are accordingly not registered with other Federal authorities.

This proposal assumes that the various authorities will communicate with each other more quickly and more reliably – especially when they fully exploit the opportunities offered by modern computer techniques – than is the case nowadays when people have to register and de-register. Landlords will still be required to confirm tenancy in order to rule out any abuses of the system.

The various Federal states will have to decide the form this confirmation is to take. One thing is certain – they will not accept the present method whereby landlords have to sign their tenants' completed registration forms and are thus able to obtain personal information.

The simplification and standardisation of registration procedure makes it vital for the authorities to utilise modern technical equipment, especially in the field of computer technology.

This is actually the central feature of the new Bill. It is not so much a question of registration as of identity. Minister Genscher envisages that the registrars' lists could form the nucleus of a data system enabling local and State authorities to gain important information about inhabitants of the Federal Republic.

The basic prerequisite for a data system of this type is, apart from the installation of technical equipment, a new system of classification which is better suited for automatic registration that the current alphabetical method.

As computers are more at home with figures, the Federal Registration Bill proposes that every inhabitant of the Federal Republic should receive a personal identity number in 1976.

The personal identity number, introduced in Sweden as long ago as 1947, already exists in most cities of the Federal Republic. It will now be standardised as a nationwide identity number consisting of twelve digits.

The first six digits will record the date of birth and the seventh figure will express in code form sex and century of birth. A four-figure number and a control digit will follow.

To avoid any overlaps or cases of uncertainty arising from the allocation of identity numbers the Federal states will set up central departments to specialise in this work. It is not however intended to set up a centralised data bank at a national level.

The automatic acquisition of personal information increases the danger that confidential data may be utilised for no valid reason whatsoever and in such a way as to violate a person's private sphere.

The planned registration law will therefore contain a number of regulations designed to guard against this eventuality. Information may only be exchanged with other authorities when it is genuinely required in the course of duties.

However fears are growing that the establishment of data banks will reduce people to a number in the files and expose them to the control of the authorities at all times.

Burkhard Schulz

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 16 August 1973)

Continued from page 4

comments from the Social Democrats, especially floor-leader Herbert Wehner.

Flach wanted the FDP to be seen as a party with a policy of common sense. His short-term aim was to justify the SPD-FDP coalition by getting laws passed this year on workers' participation in decision-making, capital wealth accumulation, property rights and tax-reform. He described this as a test of the party's welfare policies.

His medium-term aim was to re-establish the FDP in the provincial assemblies of Lower Saxony, Schleswig-Holstein and the Saar after the election due in these Federal states over the next two years. Flach knew that all local branches of the FDP would support him.

Karl-Herman Flach deserves praise for re-organising party structure but he should be given even greater recognition for providing the FDP with its intellectual basis as a modern liberal party.

Rudolf Strauch

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 27 August 1973)



Bonn Interior Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher inspects Wiesbaden CID computer

(Photo: dpa)

Frontier computer hook-up to criminal records office

Hannoversche Allgemeine

On their return from a journey abroad passengers hand their passports to a member of the Federal Border Guard who lays them one by one on a glass screen. A beam of light picks out the personal data in much the same way as a television camera and another member of the force sitting in the room next-door passes the information on to a computer at the Federal Crime Bureau's headquarters in Wiesbaden. Within nine seconds and electronic brain states whether the traveller is wanted by the police or not.

Though this sounds like a passage from a science fiction novel it is not. This method is already employed at Frankfurt airport and will shortly be adopted at other airports in the Federal Republic. Minister of the Interior Hans-Dietrich Genscher was able to judge the computer's efficiency during his recent visit to the Federal Crime Bureau.

Herr Herold, head of the Crime Bureau, has systematically encouraged the extension of computer techniques in the fight against crime since taking office. In January 1972 the Standing Conference of Ministers of the Interior decided to turn the Federal Crime Bureau into the headquarters for exchanging police information within the framework of an electronic data system. Information about wanted men was provided by computer as early as November 1972. Herold claims today that he is on the whole satisfied with what has been achieved.

But Herold realises that the modernisation of the Federal Crime Bureau was only made possible by the government programme calculated to intensify the fight against crime.

The Crime Bureau's budget increased from 22.4 million Marks to 75.2 million between 1969 and 1972. This year it has already reached 120 million. At the same time the number of staff has more than doubled to over 1,900.

Under an amendment of the laws governing the Federal Crime Bureau which took effect on 1 July the Crime Bureau is now able to act as a central agency for cooperation with the Federal states' criminal investigation departments. One of its most important functions is the collection and analysis of information by means of the most up-to-date computer methods.

The building housing the computers was built only recently. The smell of wet paint is still in the air. Construction costs totalled 37.1 million Marks. Another four to five million Marks must be added for installations.

Information about 180,000 suspects currently wanted by the police in the Federal Republic has already been fed into the electronic brain and four regional crime headquarters have linked up with the central computer. By the end of the year all regional crime squads will be attached to the system.

Herold reports with pride that the number of enquiries reaching Wiesbaden round-the-clock has already reached fifteen thousand a day. The computer can answer eight enquiries a second.

Detectives hope that the electronic equipment installed at Wiesbaden will one day make the wanted lists superfluous. Though they are reviewed every month, the wanted lists are out of date before they are issued. Their contents are six weeks old by the time they appear.

But wanted lists will not become a thing of the past until it is possible to attach all police cars, police stations and border crossing points to the electronic brain in Wiesbaden.

Unique range of information

The computer's store of data is being expanded step by step. At present it is being fed information about all missing cars in the Federal Republic. Herold does not believe that it will be long until all border crossing points in the Federal Republic will have cameras to record car registrations and automatically transmit them to Wiesbaden. Within a matter of seconds the border guard will know whether police are looking for the car in question.

The third stage will be to feed the computer with information about past convictions. Herold is looking forward to this day. "We shall then possess a full range of information which will probably be unique in the world," he comments.

A department of detection techniques has also been built on the Federal Crime Bureau site at a cost of 7.2 million Marks. Electron microscopes, television analysers and equipment to measure the distance travelled by bullets and other projectiles will help detectives obtain more accurate results than ever before.

Hans Jörg Sottorf

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 21 August 1973)

■ THE ECONOMY

Price freezes do not prove disinflationary

Freezing prices might earn the government the praise of the public at large. Experience in other countries has shown that the public rejoices ar first at the news that prices are not to be allowed to rise further.

On the other hand a wages freeze is far less likely to put the Brandt Cabinet at the top of any popularity poll. Unions and employees jealously guard the right of pay-scale autonomy, *namely their right* to negotiate wages and salaries without State interference.

Furthermore another argument is advanced for the aversion to wage freezes, namely the opinion held in this country that pay dirigism is very easy to organise, while suitable means of holding prices stable at the same time have not yet been found.

But even if prices are controlled can dirigistic limitation or even abolition of wage-scale autonomy prevent further increases in pay? The mind boggles. The answer is in the negative.

Control of wages cannot be organised as effectively as is generally maintained, and is therefore not a suitable method of stopping the wages-prices spiral. This has been proved by the experiences of our European neighbours who have tried freezes again and again in recent years as an emergency measure.

No less than twelve countries have tried this last resort in recent years: Austria, Britain, Denmark, Eire, Finland, France, Iceland, The Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Switzerland and Yugoslavia.

These are economies that differ greatly from each other on points such as degree of development, economic structure, rate of growth, incidence of strikes, level of employment, economic control and even political aspects.

These twelve provide a broad spectrum. And the situation is made even more diverse by the various methods of application of the freeze employed and the length of time for which the brakes have been applied.

The most stringent dirigistic protection is the total wage freeze. Only three countries have tried this, Britain, Yugoslavia (and that in only certain sectors of the economy) and Spain, and the complete freeze has been applied relatively rarely.

In these three countries the first hesitant step on the road back to liberalisation and normality has been a period in which the maximum rate of wage increases is decreed by the government.

A far more wide-spread procedure is for unions and employers, usually under more or less strong pressure from the government, to reach binding agreements on the extent of wage increases. The rate negotiated then tends to apply more or less equally to all workers in the country in question and then has the function of providing a ceiling to wage increases for those affected. This kind of dirigism has been tried in Denmark, Eire, Finland and The Netherlands.

In Norway the authorities banned any payment above the level agreed by collective bargaining (wages drift).

Wage guidelines, applying at least to employees in nationalised industries and civil servants, have been set out by the administration in Britain, France and Iceland. Iceland also tried something that was a major bone of contention when it temporarily suspended the ties between wages and the cost of living index.

Switzerland recently tried a kind of wage policing, and Austria has had a good deal of experience with the most subtle of wage pegging procedures. The Austrians practise a kind of State influencing of wages and salaries within the framework of a so-called "wage parity commission".

What were the results of these attempts to control pay? Did wages and salaries prove as easy to rein in as many people had assumed? Comparing the expected effects of these wages controls and their actual outcome leaves little room for doubt.

In 1971 the plan was for wages to rise by eight per cent. They actually increased by fourteen per cent.

Pay in Finland was supposed to rise between 1968 and 1970 by 5.5 per cent on average per annum. Statistics show that industrial wages alone climbed by 10.5 per cent each year.

In France the wage guidelines for 1969/71 were exceeded by about fifty per cent.

And Britain: In 1970 and 1971 Whitehall allowed for wage increases of 2.5 to 4.5 per cent but collective bargaining alone produced an increase of nearly ten per cent.

In Eire the wage guidelines were exceeded by close on forty per cent.

The Icelandic and Yugoslav orientation values have been made to look stupid in recent years and in The Netherlands, too, it proved impossible to adhere to them.

In 1971 Norwegian industrial workers collected a wage drift of about fifty per cent above negotiated wage settlements although this was forbidden; and the Austrians state that they have had a wage drift over the past ten years.

Even under the authoritarian Spanish government the only wage freeze that came near to succeeding was in 1968. In the next two years the officially decreed level of wage rises was almost doubled.

These facts speak for themselves. In the most diverse countries from Spain to Iceland, with the most diverse economic conditions from Yugoslavia to Britain the most diverse attempts at controlling the

DIE ZEIT

wage grab have proven equally unsuccessful. Wages have been nowhere near so easy to control as was thought.

This surprising failure of the more or less brutal incomes policy thumbscrews can be explained by many factors. But in no case was one factor alone responsible for the lack of success. There has always been a series of influences leading to the generally weak level of success. Only in a few instances was one factor overriding in the breakdown of the wages watchdog systems.

Basically there are six factors dogging the wage-policy policemen. The first of these, and ranking highest since it occurs most frequently and seems to have the most decisive effect, is the failure to back up the wage freeze with a sufficiently stability-orientated economic policy.

Fearing that unemployment would rise and economic growth would be stunted governments were not prepared even temporarily to allow the measures at their disposal in line with market forces to be implemented, such as cutting public expenditure, ordering a credit squeeze and protecting the economy from outside influences. Where such measures were taken they were not pursued with consistency for long enough. Instead politicians fiddled around with price controls, trying to relieve the symptoms of inflation without striking at the causes.

Secondly the institutionalised connection between wages and the cost of living index in seven of the countries acted as a stubborn stimulus to inflation or "built-in inflator".

Thirdly the State and employers often felt an incentive grant wage increases in defiance of the law or agreements reached in order to preserve the peace. This has been the case in Austria, Eire, France, Iceland and Spain.

In the fourth place companies or whole branches of industry with above-average profits as a result of increased productivity are only too keen to buy the loyalty of good workers with "special bonuses". Extra payments of this kind were sometimes used as an incentive to recruit good workers as well. And these payments have been all the more forthcoming when exports and the domestic market have been buoyant.

The fifth point is that on many occasions when leading union organisations have negotiated wage settlements special arrangements have been made within certain companies to correct these figures (upwards) even though the unions have contested these bonuses.

It should be stressed at this point that the senior union committees have been most concerned that wage freezes reached by agreement should be kept, guidelines should be followed and so on. But in so many cases grass roots had different ideas and did not hesitate to put them in practice.

The sixth and final point is that the coupling of wages dirigism with attempts at maintaining pay differentials has not proved conducive to stabilisation proposals. When wages guidelines are set people in the lower wage brackets are generally awarded above-average emoluments. The result has been that higher income earners have been induced to press for higher increases to maintain their differential. This has occurred in Denmark, France, The Netherlands and Spain, for instance.

To sum up pay dirigism has not achieved the effects towards stabilisation that was expected of it. But what else could have been expected? The actions taken could only have relieved the symptoms of inflation, since they did nothing to attack the causes.

To return to the state of affairs in the Federal Republic the Bundesbank and Bonn government have been on the right course in principle with a package of stabilisation measures and a renunciation of the palliative of a wage and price freeze. But what are the prospects for the future?

In the light of the power structure in society it would be quite unrealistic in the long run to continue trying to fight inflation with measures that conform with a free market alone, trying at the same time to preserve social peace and economic growth.

In this country and in other parts of Europe it is essential to try new forms of stabilisation policy cooperation involving governments, trade unions and industrialists. This would not be designed to replace the normal machinery of the market and an anti-inflation policy utilising normal market forces, but to provide a sound social basis for the effects of such measures, which would bring a break-down of over-employment and a speeding up of the closure of so-called borderline companies.

This line must be taken in view of the fact that if galloping inflation is allowed to continue apace it would be a dreadful social injustice, and would at the same time endanger full employment, economic progress and free enterprise.

It will not be easy to find a practicable form of cooperative activity of this kind, and will be even more difficult to implement it having found it.

But if such cooperation can be reached rates of inflation could be brought back to a reasonable level with the minimum of friction and loss in the spheres of economic and social welfare policy. Then pay dirigism would by its very nature cease be necessary. *Oscar-Erich Kuntze*

(Die Zeit, 17 August 1973)

Wildcat strikes warn all is not well

Wildcat strikes have sounded a warning. They are like a volcano that lies dormant for a land time and then erupts spreading fire and destruction throughout the land. All responsible politicians, Opposition and government alike, responsible men in industry and top union officials should make a note of this.

When workers take things into their own hands and lay aside legitimate means of fighting the labour battle through union channels they cast doubt on the whole system. Matters can quickly get out of hand and the political consequences are not foreseeable.

Unions, with the metalworkers' union in the forefront, cannot be castigated. At the beginning of the year they exercised restraint with their wage demands and now they are tied by a peace treaty.

Eugen Loderer of the metalworkers' union has been praised for the contribution he made towards efforts to achieve stability when he demanded average pay increases of no more than ... per cent.

But hardly was the ink dry on the agreement he signed than his counterpart on the other side of the industry, M. Schleyer arranged a special deal at Daimler-Benz with average increases of eleven per cent. Prior to this he had given a warning that 8.5 per cent was the most the industry could bear.

Several other companies followed his lead, with the result that the union leaders found a credibility gap had opened. Furthermore they were attacked in public by radical Young Socialists, with Berlin Professor Johano Strasser in the forefront, for doing deals with entrepreneurs that were not in the interests of the workers. This, it was alleged, was tantamount to a breach of the peace pact.

No wonder Eugen Loderer felt bitter, having been cheated on the one hand and falsely accused of double-dealing by comrades on the other. It does not take much imagination to see that the next round of pay talks in the metalworking industries will exceed all others in the toughness of the bargaining that is ...

The SPD is directly affected by this controversy, since it is as dependent as the trades unions on agreement with employers. Therefore SPD politicians should speak out and warn the Young Socialists not to play with fire on the factory floor.

But industrialists in metalworking must accept that they are obviously largely to blame that wildcat strikes are spreading through the industry, with demands that extra pay to meet the higher cost of living should be awarded.

No union man is now going to listen to the lip service the other side of industry pays to stabilisation attempts, and general pointers to the destructive consequences of inflationary tendencies will cut no ice if the results of collective bargaining are not adhered to.

A last resort to get this plague of wildcat strikes under control would be a reduction of taxation for the broad mass of workers, as Schleswig-Holstein Premier Gerhard Stoltenberg has suggested.

The disadvantage of this would be that it would give a booster to price rises even before decisive steps in the direction of currency stabilisation had been made.

According to Finance Minister Helmut Schmidt it would be "insanity" to release extra purchasing power at this juncture. But precisely this insanity is prevailing at the moment, while all those responsible are washing their hands in innocence.

Bernd Bröge

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 24 August 1973)

■ COMMODITIES

Government plans to step up oil and grain reserves for emergencies

DIE ZEIT

Anxiety at the prospect of a possible "sell-out" led the European Commission in Brussels to follow in President Nixon's footsteps and order an export embargo on types of grain in short supply. Maize and barley exports have for the time being been controlled by the milder measure of an export levy.

Anxiety about a sell-out is not without foundation. The high international market price for grain is tempting dealers to sell off European surpluses and store grain on the world market. This could mean that grain will also become scarce in Europe and have to be re-imported at a later date at even higher world market prices.

For dealers who now export grain and later re-import it this could be a flourishing business. It is speculation of this kind that Brussels wishes to prevent by imposing various export barriers. It became clear that such measures could prove a serious disruption to international trade when the United States put export barriers up in the way of dealings with soyabeans. As these beans are an important constituent of cattle fodder serious shortages now threaten European cattle farmers. At the Ministry of Food and Agriculture in Bonn it is feared that the situation will become serious this month.

Since then, however, the United States has relaxed its embargo. The next crop will decide whether the pendulum swings towards complete liberalisation of exports or a renewed export ban. At the moment estimates of the next harvest range from highly optimistic to highly pessimistic in Washington at regular intervals.

Therefore it is not possible to exclude the eventuality of a shortage of supply. CDU Bundestag member Isidor Früh said that it was high time that the European Community and the Bonn government took steps to prevent the possibility of a shortage of foodstuffs.

Agriculture Minister Josef Ertl considers Früh's aniexties unfounded. He said: "The Bonn government feels that the situation is under control as regards providing for the home market and also for the possibility of supplying aid to stricken areas in the event of catastrophe."

Bonn does appear to be well armed for the possibility of a crisis — at least on paper. If world-wide crop failures or protectionist measures by important trade partners — for instance the United States — should endanger the daily bread of people in this country the government can use stock-piled grain which lasr for three months.

The basis for more far-reaching measures is provided by food supply legislation. This law, which was passed in 1968 as part of the emergency powers legislation, can be applied in times of peace and without a state of emergency with regard to defence.

It swings into operation whenever market forces can no longer be used to guarantee a supply of commodities essential for life. In such cases government controls of production and consumption of foodstuffs can be applied.

At the outset this law provides only for emergency powers. No one has yet given a thought to details of how these could be applied. Agriculture Ministry spokesman Manfred Kneilmann said: "We have no specific regulations. We have to make separate decisions what to do for each individual case."

It is not only crises in peacetime for which Bonn does not seem to be particularly well prepared, but also its readiness to meet defence policy emergencies is limited. Within the framework of civil defence supplies of basic foodstuffs for *thirty days* are provided. But up till now finance ministers have been most reluctant to provide money for this pupose. Herr Kneilmann said: "Supplies will actually only last for fourteen days."

People in this country would not be expected to go hungry in the dark. Where fuel and power supplies are concerned emergency suppies would last for 65 days. Only then would the lights go out all over this country and garages put up the "No petrol" signs. Only then would industries along the Rhine and Ruhr lay off their employees because their fuel supplies have run out. And this emergency would only arise in the unlikely event that the Federal Republic were suddenly boycotted by all the world's oil-producing countries.

Politicians in Bonn have been working for some time on plans soon due to become law, by means of which the Federal Republic would be able to survive more than 65 days in an emergency. In future petroleum companies will be expected to hold reserve supplies for ninety days. Oil importers who have in the past been compelled to keep emergency supplies for 45 days will be expected to extend this to a 75-day supply.

Gerhard Kling, a spokesman for the Economic Affairs Ministry in Bonn, stated: "We are moreover working on a national crisis management plan which will take care of details of supply and provide for a speedy reaction to any crisis that arises."

The government and industry are working constantly together collecting data which are stored in computers programmed to take care of any emergency.

According to the nature and seriousness of the crisis the country would be able to stand a siege for a greater length of time. State measures to this end range from appeals and recommendations for moderation and voluntary cuts in energy consumption to rigorous bans such as prohibition for Sunday driving for private cars. Another possibility would be a complete ban on motorised transport apart from life-and-death traffic.

Herr Kling said: "Appeals to the populace to cut emergy consumption voluntarily would mean a twenty per cent saving on energy consumption for household heating without any difficulties and without additional measures."

A lengthy oil crisis could also be eased by additional overtime down the coal-mines. Since energy consumption in the Federal Republic is now 55 per cent reliable on fuel oil it would be difficult if not impossible to operate household gadgets and industrial machinery without complicated conversions to coal burning.

These thrift activities are, however, expensive. Additional costs and investments for extending oil reserves to ninety days a one will amount to 1,500 million Marks. When this ninety day supply has been achieved more than 5,000 million Marks worth of oil and investments in underground caverns and tanks will be tied up without producing interest.

A spokesman for the industries confederation (BDI) in Cologne said: "It is easy to see that non-profitable investments of this kind and of this size will never be popular."

There are no official regulations regarding stock-piling of other commodities. Important raw materials for industry such as copper, lead and other imported basics are not covered, and if supplies dried up industry would soon grind to a standtill.

Ernst Böke, the BDI's crisis management specialist, said: "Of course we are dependent on the international market for many raw materials although not to the extent of our need for oil. And other commodities are not dependent on the political situation of the moment so much as oil."

Industry is relying on raw material crises not arising in peacetime. In the past there have been moves towards State control of raw material supplies but of late these plans have been shelved.

Ernst Böke said: "Nothing specific has come of this. It is all on the periphery."

Even a major user of copper such as the cable manufacturers Felten & Guilleaume treat this problem casually. A spokesman said: "Stock-piling of raw materials would cost thousands of millions. Who would pay the interest? The Japanese tried something of the kind for copper, but it was an expensive proposition. Then copper became cheaper and they sold off their supplies. Now the price has risen again and they are having to buy. When the State takes a hand supplies do not become more certain — just more expensive."

Wolfgang Hoffmann

(Die Zeit, 24 August 1973)

Proposals to ban all drink and cigarette advertising

Frankfurter **Neue Presse**

Advertising of alcoholic drinks and tobacco products by the mass media and other commercial publications should be banned immediately, according to the Consumer Study Group (AGV) in a recently published campaign against drunkenness and the dangers of tobacco.

Tobacco and drink companies are called upon to renounce advertising voluntarily. Other points made in the AGV campaign are:

* Health warnings on cigarette packets
* Appeals for moderation on drink bottles
* A ban on alcohol sales on autobahns and at other garages
* A ban on smoking in common rooms at factories
* Sections for non-smokers in restaurants.

The AGV says that if these measures are not implemented voluntarily laws must be passed. Furthermore, it feels, the State should speedily step up its campaigns of enlightenment on the dangers of alcohol and tobacco. Finally they demand that the status symbol value of smoking and drinking as being "manly" should be abolished once and for all.

The AGV has come up with some "shock statistics", including thirteen milliard Marks-worth of tobacco smoked and nearly thirty milliard Marks-worth of alcohol drunk in this country last year. This is more than seven per cent of the national income. The State received eleven milliard Marks revenue on the sales of cigarettes and drink.

Fifteen thousand smokers have legs amputated each year and 50,000 die of lung cancer. The damage to heart and circulation from smoking can scarcely be calculated. Nicotine and alcohol also contribute towards early retirement and premature death to an incalculable extent.

Instrance policy holders and taxpayers have to fork out millions every year, the report states, for the almost one million alcoholics — eight to ten per cent of them minors — and habitual smokers for drying out and withdrawal cures.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 22 August 1973)

Consumer protection package

Bonn plans to protect consumers by means of a package of legislation, according to a recent Cabinet statement. A basic decision to this effect has, however, been postponed until the first week of September because of the uncertain financial consequences.

The new legislation aims at alterations to general conditions of sale in favour of the purchaser, a more speedy ratification of food law reform and the amendment of legislation of dishonest advertising as well as stepping up consumer advice in schools and other organisations.

Public means of consumer advice and information are to be improved, being tightened up and handed over to fewer organisations. Measures to this effect will probably be announced in the next budget and middle term finance planning until 1977.

The Cabinet has called on Justice Minister Gerhard Jahn to work in cooperation with Economic Affairs Minister Hans Friderichs to produce a Bill for the control of general trading conditions by the spring of 1975.

A general clause in this Bill will state what stipulations of trading are not permissible and which regulations in the civil code may not be infringed by general trading conditions.

Bonn plans to release a purchaser from the obligation of paying the purchase price if goods are found to be damaged on delivery. Purchasers will be given the right to match conditions imposed by a supplier with conditions of their own.

In addition the Bonn legislation aims at permitting consumer associations to take steps against unjust general trading conditions.

In order to strengthen the protection of the consumer the Bonn government will include a "consumer clause" in all drafts placed before the Cabinet in future outlining the effects that proposed legislation will have on the consumer. It is planned to speed up the ratification of reform of food laws and the new clauses in the laws against dishonest advertising by the Bundestag.

Finally, the government intends to increase consumer awareness by introducing courses on how to shop in schools. Government departments plan to publish their suggestions for setting up a consumer academy by early next year. This will work out the scientific bases for the education of and supply of information to the consumer. (Die Welt, 23 August 1973)

■ ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

Atmospheric pollution devastates woods and forests

As mushrooms of atmospheric pollution billow over cities and built-up areas the country's green belts are being systematically destroyed, dismembered and poisoned to death. Some 7,000 hectares (17,500 acres) of woodland are sacrificed a year to housing, road-building and industrial requirements.

At least 50,000 hectares (200 square miles) of woodland are on their last legs because of the depredations of industrial pollution, and the extent to which vegetation is poisoned by car exhaust fumes, although definite figures are not available, is quite substantial.

The condition of much woodland in this country is so perilous that fears of an environmental crisis have arisen, ecologists, hydrologists and meteorologists having devoted close attention to the social function of woods and forests in recent years.

Since 1970 the Federal Republic Research Association has sponsored major aspects of research in this field, and the results to date leave no doubt as to the importance of woodland for the ecological system as a whole.

To view the forest merely as a provider of wood would nowadays constitute a grave and dangerous mistaken assumption. Woodland is a major factor in atmospheric hygiene, air movements, regulation of the water cycle, the prevention of soil erosion, local and supra-regional weather and sight- and soundproofing.

At first glance there would not appear to be evidence of a really alarming decline in the country's reserves of woodland. The trend would appear to have been reversed. In the course of the sixties the total amount of woodland in the Federal Republic increased overall by 0.9 per cent. Over the decade, that is, an extra 63,000 hectares (250 square miles) of woodland have been added to the existing stock.

Over the area that now constitutes the Federal Republic the extent of woodland and forests in 1966 represented a net increase of 150,000 hectares (600 square miles) over the figure for 1935. Woodland does, when all is said and done, cover 29 per cent of the country's surface area. What justification is there, then, for talking in terms of an imminent ecological crisis?

Nature conservationists, environmental scientists and politicians are by no means at a loss for an answer. It is most sorely meeded.

"There is nothing to be gained from an increase in the amount of woodland far from the madding crowd," says Dr Wolfgang Engelhard, president of the Federal Republic Nature Conservation Association, "when woods are being dismembered where they are most badly needed, on the outskirts of urban areas, because of the need to build new industrial estates and dormitory suburbs."

An increase in the surface area wooded need not necessarily constitute a qualitative improvement. Newly afforested areas are not a patch on dense beech or mixed forests either ecologically or in terms of their recreational value.

The annual 7,000 hectares of woodland that go by the board are shared out between housing (33 per cent), industry (23 per cent), road-building (fourteen per cent) and agriculture (sixteen per cent).

According to the North Rhine-Westphalian Ministry of Agriculture 40,000 hectares (100,000 acres) of woodland in the Rhine and Ruhr regions are in danger of succumbing to atmospheric pollution, particularly the few remaining patches of greenery of the outskirts of the cities. The vegetation is overdosed with sulphur, fluorline, chlorine, lead and zinc.

Dr Knabe, an Essen specialist in atmospheric hygiene, has engaged in research into the repercussions of pollution on woods and forests. In pine trees, for instance, he has ascertained a substantial decline in growth, fewer years in which needles are grown and an absence of lichen. Trees weakened by atmospheric pollution more easily fall foul of insects and fungus.

Complaints about the deterioration and pollution of water are on the increase and water specialists take a gloomy view of the future, forecasting the possibility of drastic water shortages in the decades to come.

Yet particularly in built-up areas woods and forests, which perform a natural function in filtering and storing water, are steadily being cleared.

The Black Forest is a prime example of what can happen. Since the end of the war 700 springs have ceased to flow as a result of the exploitation and destruction of woodland. A number of ecologists forecast that if the Black Forest were to be axed to any great extent the region would be turned into a treeless steppe.

In all probability woodland does not lead to general increases in the amount of rainfall, but in certain areas the existence of forests is known to increase annual rainfall by as much as twenty per cent.

This figure is adduced by Dr Rolf Zundel, a senior forestry official attached to the Forestry Research Institute in Feiburg, in a report on the connection between woodland and rainfall. In theory an increase in rainfall is likely because the forest evaporates more rainwater than agricultural crops.

Woodland certainly brings substantial influence to bear on the way the rainfall seeps deeper into the ground and less of it flows directly away. This seepage is redered mroe easy, according to Dr Zundel, by the fact that the shade, the ground vegetation and the topsoil and humus all favour the rapid absorption of rainwater.

Forest soil lets a particularly large amount of rainfall through by comparison with tilled soil. The animals burrow around without let or hindrance and trees and bushes boast deep and extensive roots.

"Water absorption by forest soil makes its presence felt in the form of a smaller number of floods and less damage to roads, bridges and so on. Above all else, the rain is more evenly distributed around thelandscape as a whole," Dr Zundel maintains.

Where the forest is cleared the water-table sinks, though deciduous and evergreen soils differ to no small extent. Layers of pine needles seal off the soil and absorb the rainwater themselves.

Only a small amount of rainfall seeps into the soil proper. By far the most part is carried along just under the surface and finds its way to surface waterways. Fairly close to the surface of soil in pine forests there are layers resistant to water due to the influence of humus acid. Deep-rooted oaks and beech trees are much better suited for storing the water at a lower level.

According to estimates made by ecologists between 4,000 and 5,000 million cubic metres of water a year are channeled away from the water-table by pine forests. Viewed in this light the composition fo the country's forests is not what you might call ideal.

As recently as 1860 seventy per cent of the surface area of German forests was covered by deciduous trees and only thirty per cent by fir trees. Nowadays the proportion is the other way round.

The reasons are mainly commercial. Firs reach maturity sooner and can sooner be converted into spot cash than deciduous trees. Pine trees are ready to be felled after eighty years' growth; beech trees and oaks take nearer a century and a half or even 200 years before they reach this stage.

When large areas of woodland are razed to the ground pasture and arable land, gardens and orchards suffer from the depredations of wind and rain. According to a survey carried out by the Regional Planning Institute in Bad Godesberg 7.5 per cent of the agricultural land in the state of Schleswig-Holstein is either affected or threatened by wind erosion.

In four administrative regions of Lower Saxony a ninth of the arable land has run into trouble becuase of the same mishap, and 61 per cent of vineyards in Hesse also are threatened by the prospect of wind erosion.

As forests are felled many slopes are growing less and less fertile as a result of erosion. This erosion is not without detrimental effects on water resources. Dams, reservoirs, fish ponds and what have you are rapidly silted up.

A hundred-year-old beech tree is capable of meeting the oxygen requirements or ten people. The leaves of a full-grown deciduous tree stop several hundred kilogrammes of dust in their tracks in the course of a year. The filtrations effect of forests is exemplified by figures from the Freiburg Institute of Forestry.

At a power station near a wooded area 66,000 particles of dust per cubic centimetre were measured. At the edge of the forest the figure was only 47,000 particles and within the forest a mere 18,000 particles per cubic centimetre. In other words, in no distance at all the concentration of dust in the air was reduced by nearly three quarters.

The hygienic function of woods and forests is demonstrated in a report issued by the North Rhine-Westphalian Atmospheric Pollution and Soil Protection Institute in Essen. Its salient features are:

— the filtration of fine dust,
— the catchment of radioactive particles in the leaves and branches of trees in the vicinity of nuclear power stations,
— the absorption of gaseous pollutants, some of which is chemically compounded, the remainder merely being washed away by the next rainfall,
— the extraction of droplets of water from fog and low cloud that contain substantial amounts of harmful substances.

Nature conservationists and ecologists are calling for a rethink. We can no longer afford to think in terms of woods and forests merely as a source of wood. Economic considerations must be subordinated to ecological requirements. Human inroads into the woodland must be cut back to a minimum. Woodland nature reserves ought to be without let or hindrance.

Willy Lützenkirchen
(Der Tagesspiegel, 25 August)

Psychologists probe effects of traffic noise on sleep

Labour physiologists at Munich University of Technology are delving into the repercussions of continual traffic noise on sleep. Under the aegis of the Bavarian Ministry of the Environment Professor Müller-Limmroth, head of the department of labour physiology, has embarked on a research programme the results of which are scheduled to appear next spring.

The physiological responses of the human guinea pigs are to be supervised and evaluated during their sleep with the aid of a computer.

According to the Ministry very little research has so far been conducted into the effect on health of environmental noise. Yet the encouragement of medical research into noise is not only a sine qua non for the improvement of the quality of life; it is also an economic consideration of prime importance.

According to a survey conducted by the Federal Ministry of Transport soundproofing the country's roads to comply with the noise levels that are mandatory for trade and industry would cost somewhere in the region of 130 million Marks.

(Münchner Merkur, 23 August 1973)

Householders head list of pollution offenders

Domestic consumers and not industry are the cause of most environmental pollution in this country. Household refuse, car exhaust fumes and in an affluent society the increasing amount of garbage are the major offenders, according to a report entitled "Environmental Conservation and Regeneration" and published by *Der Spiegel* of Hamburg.

The report notes that in 1970 domestic garbage amounted to some ninety million cubic metres and that this figure is expected to increase to 130 million cubic metres by the end of the decade. By then the average three-person household will account for a ton and a half of refuse a year.

In comparison with problems facing society the increasing amount of garbage will prove a fairly inexpensive affair, relatively speaking, that is. According to the Federal government investments amounting to 2,800 million Marks will be needed over the next fifteen years to cope with refuse disposal.

Sewage treatment and disposal will cost a good deal more. Government, state and local authorities will need to invest 3,000 million Marks per annum in this sector. Industrial water-users will need to invest a further 1,600 million Marks a year.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 23 August 1973)

Isotope treatment sterilises sewage

Atomic energy is now being used to process parasites, bacteria and viruses at a sewage farm in Geiselbullach, near Munich, where the word's first and to date only sewage irradiation unit was recently inaugurated.

The unit was financed by the Bonn Ministry of Research and Technology and uses radioactive isotopes to sterilise the sewage from neighbouring areas, which is cut and dried, as it were and then distributed to local farmers who use it as fertiliser.

The radiation unit has a quota of 114,000 curies of cobalt 60 and is capable of sterilising up to thirty cubic metres of sewage per day.

In the course of a comprehensive research programme scheduled to last several years the influence of the sewage fertiliser on soil and plant growth is to be probed. (Nordwest Zeitung, 17 August 1973)

OPERA

Prestige is more important at Bayreuth than money

The 1973 Bayreuth Festival is due to close at the end of August and it is therefore time to draw up a balance of activities. The organisers themselves are happy about both the artistic and financial aspects of the Festival.

The tickets – officially priced between 5 and 110 Marks – were sold out months before the Festival actually began on 23 July. Not one of the 1,925 seats in the Festspielhaus remained empty.

Wolfgang Wagner, the chief organiser of the Festival, stated with pride that "his" Festival was one of the few large-scale events of this kind where the proportion of expenditure covered by subsidies was "relatively" low.

Asked whether he thought festivals fitted into the contemporary scene and whether he saw any point in organising festivals despite ever-increasing losses, Wolfgang Wagner, a grandson of Richard Wagner, said he found this question "somewhat odd".

"The extraordinary international interest displayed by all sections of society makes a reply to the question superfluous," he commented. "And as far as rising costs are concerned all sectors are affected. It is only logical that festivals form no exception."

Costs in Bayreuth have indeed risen year by year. Subsidies are increased annually, Hans Eschlkösch states on behalf of the city of Bayreuth. Festival expenditure totals 6.7 million Marks while 4.1 million Marks are raised by the sale of tickets. Sixty-five per cent of the costs are therefore covered by receipts.

The other 2.65 million Marks are raised by Bonn (0.88 million), the Federal state of Bavaria (0.88 million), the city of Bayreuth (0.39 million), the regional authorities of Upper Franconia (just under two hundred thousand Marks) and the Friends of Bayreuth Society.

Eighty-one per cent of the Festival budget is spent on wages for the 823 persons taking part, 578 in an artistic capacity. Five and a half million Marks are therefore spent on staff and artists even though Wolfgang Wagner tried to adhere to his grandfather's policy.

"Singers and musicians only receive expenses from me and not pay," Richard Wagner once stated. "I don't want anyone who has not come out of honour or enthusiasm." "Artists are paid five times as much at Salzburg," Wolfgang Wagner comments in the same vein.

But time has not stood still in Bayreuth and a top-class tenor will be paid just under four thousand Marks for an evening's singing. Herbert Barth, the Festival's public relations officer, comments: "We do not pay the highest fees in the world but the prestige gained from singing in Bayreuth proves beneficial in other ways. Few opera houses outside Bayreuth provide soloists with so much insight into new styles of production and modern techniques of direction." But wages, salaries, fees and expenses are still rising.

Although the Festival directors and mainly Wolfgang Wagner are officially responsible for organising the Festival, the city of Bayreuth is already considering how high subsidies can be allowed to increase.

But this is more of a threat than anything else. What would Bayreuth be without the Richard Wagner Festival? Because of its geographical position, the hotels would certainly go out of business. The only reason so many congresses take place there is because it is the city of Richard Wagner.

Whereas Hans Eschlkösch describes the



Festival as a purely cultural event and claims that Richard Wagner's legacy must be preserved at all costs, Herbert Barth states that the Festspielhaus is an economic venture, despite its high wage bill, and a good advertisement for the town.

"The Festival was not conjured out of thin air," Eschlkösch states, "but developed naturally and Bayreuth's inhabitants are willing to make great sacrifices for it to continue." Private accommodation is let relatively cheaply to both tourists and singers.

The Friends of Bayreuth Society donated 600,000 Marks for the purchase of new stage lighting so that the *Mastersingers of Nuremberg* and the *Ring* could be seen in new splendour.

Expenditure is worthwhile, especially from the artistic point of view. The number of people applying for tickets is increasing all the time even though the same quantities are sold every year owing to the limited amount available. Only 25 per cent of the applications can be accepted.

All thousand or more beds at Bayreuth's hotels and *pensions* are booked for the period of the Festival, as are the nine hundred private beds in and around the city.

Ernst Peter Rudolf, head of Bayreuth's tourist board, claims that private individuals provide accommodation for visitors not just for commercial reasons but also to display their support for the Festival and contribute towards its success.

Last year 58,000 visitors spent 115,000 nights in Bayreuth. Few people travel there in the hope of obtaining a ticket. A visit to the Festival is usually planned well in advance and is often combined with a holiday in the nearby Fichtelgebirge or Fränkische Schweiz.

How important is the Richard Wagner Festival for Bayreuth's economic life? "The Festival's economic importance for Bayreuth is undisputed," Mayor Hans Walter Wild comments. "But the financial aspect is not all that important. One of the main advantages for Bayreuth is that the Festival has given the town an image."

"Its prestige has increased, allowing progress to be made in many sectors and offering many opportunities for development that would not exist if it were not for the Festival and its historical image. The benefits the town derives from the Festival is at any rate greater than the loss incurred by subsidising it."

Ernst Peter Rudolf does not believe that the Festival influences the general level of prices – apart from the increases of turnover registered by the book trade which caters for Wagner fans' tastes by selling rare editions.

Record albums and several volumes of literature are planned for the Festival centenary in 1976. There will however be no kitsch – the worthless junk often produced in the guise of art.

The financial side will be dealt with in future by the Richard Wagner Foundation, Bayreuth, which was set up last May. This is a private foundation and its members include the Federal Republic of Germany, the Federal state of Bavaria, the city of Bayreuth, the Friends of Bayreuth Society, the Bavarian State Foundation, the regional authorities of Upper Franconia and members of the Wagner family. But the Foundation will neither organise nor finance the Richard Wagner Festival.

It will however decide who is to organise it. It has confirmed Wolfgang Wagner as chief organiser and will appoint his successor when the time comes. The organiser will always belong to the Wagner family.

Bonn, the Federal state of Bavaria and the Wagner family each have five votes on the Foundation's board. Bayreuth, the Bavarian Foundation, the Upper Franconian Foundation and the Upper Franconian regional authorities each have two and the Friends of Bayreuth Society has one vote. When Winifred Wagner, Richard Wagner's daughter-in-law, dies, her vote will be transferred to the Friends of Bayreuth Society.

The Festival always used to be run as a private event. The Foundation was set up to take account of the changing times and guard against any future crises or complications.

Under the old administrative form there could easily have been dissension between the organisers and the bodies subsidising the Festival. The Wagner estate could have been split up among future heirs, threatening the Wagner Archives which are indispensible for research into nineteenth-century cultural history.

Before the Foundation was set up Bonn, the Bavarian Foundation and the Upper Franconian Foundation bought the archives for 12.4 million Marks from the Wagner family and it is now incorporated in the new Richard Wagner Foundation.

The Foundation also administers the Festspielhaus and Villa Wahnfried. Another reason for setting up the Foundation was to ensure artistic independence. Winifried Wagner herself was the driving force behind its establishment.

It was therefore a question of fulfilling the testament of Siegfried and Winifried Wagner and preserving Richard Wagner's artistic legacy and Bayreuth's Festspielhaus for the community.

Of all the international events covered by radio, the Bayreuth Festival attracts most broadcasting companies. The broadcasting rights provide additional revenue as well as free advertising. Last year Bayerischer Rundfunk, the Bavarian broadcasting company, paid a quarter of a million Marks.

The Bayreuth Festival costs a good deal of money. It is expensive but, as Herbert Barth comments, it provides people with a break from the high demands of the modern industrial society by encouraging their artistic and intellectual faculties.

Peter Schenkel-Tappert

(Deutsche Zeitung, 24 August 1973)

Graduate in opera directing – in Hamburg

Now that the Liebermann era at Hamburg Staatsoper is over a new start under manager August Everding and director of productions Goetz Friedrich has been marked by a praiseworthy educational plan.

In the past opera houses have entrusted directing to neutral genius and pure chance. But in future solid educational backing is to be provided for this side of opera production.

Hamburg has begun a new series of courses lasting eight semesters, at the end of which the graduate receives the title *Diplom-Regisseur für Musiktheater*. Hamburg University, the State College of Music and Pictorial Art and the Staatsoper have cooperated on this venture.

Matriculation to the new course of study will begin in the winter semester 1973 when twelve students commence their courses. Hamburg is only the fourth city in the world to introduce opera directing as a special course of study. The first three were Moscow, East Berlin and Bratislava.

Students must have university matriculation qualifications and are expected to pass an examination to prove their musical knowledge.

The syllabus for the eight semesters has already been worked out and stresses an introduction into practical experience of directing as well as theoretical and scientific training. During the vacations between semesters students will carry out practical studies at the Staatsoper and [illegible]. They will work in conjunction with singers at the Music College where they matriculated.

August Everding said: "The aim is to bridge the gap existing at present between theory and practice."

The new general manager of the Staatsoper arranged a press conference along the lines of any top manager in the international music jet-set. The conference was designed to show off the new course of studies under the aegis of the President of Hamburg University Professor Fischer-Appelt.

Everding was not present at the press conference himself. He was in Salzburg where he was engaged in rehearsals with Herbert von Karajan, but he had been able to dash to a telephone so that his voice at least could be heard in Hamburg.

August Everding, who will take on a professorship at the Hamburg Music College, stresses that he will be able to find plenty of time for the students.

Asked what the career potential was for the graduates of the school of opera directing Everding confessed that at the moment it was disturbingly poor. But the head of the Music College, Professor Hans Hinrichs and director of productions at the Staatsoper Goetz Friedrich believe that the students will be able to work in other media such as television, radio and music journalism.

Goetz Friedrich is to take a special interest in the new course of studies. Friedrich, 43, who studied dramatics in Weimar and worked under Felsenstein at the Komische Oper, East Berlin, from 1953 till autumn last year – reaching the position of senior director of productions – then moved to Stockholm before joining the Hamburg opera, will bring to bear on these studies the experience he gained in his years in East Berlin.

He said: "Today the demand for musical theatre is staggeringly high. We intend to produce operas with television for the present day and age, and so prove that musical drama will [illegible] the future and gain in vitality. [illegible] do so good directors are essential."

What is really unusual about the Hamburg plan is the speed with which good intentions have been given substance. The possibility of training directors for opera was first discussed months ago. Without doubt the fact [illegible]

Continued on page 11

MUSIC

Remscheid Academy makes up lost ballet ground

Up till the sixties Classical Ballet and Modern Dance were considered opposite poles in America. Then a third individual dance style emerged. Afro-American Jazz Dance.

As a rule an American dancer belonged to one or other of these schools, but not two and certainly not all three.

However, as far as the Federal Republic was concerned, there was not even any choice. Since 1945 a ballet dancer here has only been able to learn and practice Classical technique. After the end of "German expression dance" the need for this country to catch up forced dancers to concentrate on the Classical side.

Today an American dancer is expected to master all three. For Modern Jazz Dance and so-called Contemporary Dance are hybrid styles.

So, for the second time Federal Republic ballet dancers must make up for lost time and learn new techniques. They too are expected to be in command of Classical ballet, Modern Dance and Jazz Dance.

This need to make up lost ground cannot be met by ballet schools and is one of the reasons why institutions such as the Cologne Summer Academy are always fully booked. Cologne and its ilk are mainly expected to teach Jazz Dance, but Modern Dance à la Martha Graham is also going through a phase of renewed popularity.

This marked craving to get up to date has now spread from professional dancers to the amateurs in this field – sports and gymnastics teachers. German gymnastics, for which this country is famous, are going through a period of change. Jazz Dance and Jazz Gymnastics are on the way to replacing traditional and time-honoured physical jerks.

This development has scarcely been noticed yet by the public and dance critics. But the fact is that the courses for the layman in Jazz Dance and Modern Dance are filled to overflowing.

The summer courses of the Swiss Dance and Gymnastics Association attract young people from all over the German-speaking world. Jazz courses at the Bode School in Munich are also very popular, though till recently this was one of the traditional strongholds of German Gymnastics.

Many education boards have followed the trend and organised courses in Beat, Jazz Dance and Jazz Gymnastics. At the moment these contain too many elements that have nothing to do with genuine, black Jazz Dance. But more and more tutors and pupils are demanding this real

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Jazz Dance, which is marked by the African technique of isolation.

Obviously the courses at present available in Jazz Dance and Modern Dance are not enough. For this reason the Federal Dance Workship (ATB) at the Remscheid Academy has organised its second week of study for modern dancing techniques.

When the ATB was founded in 1953 it tried to latch on to the folk-dance tradition of the youth movement. Even today certain sections of the ATB concentrate on German Folk Dance and European dancing traditions.

But the section of the Remscheid Academy headed by Annmargret Pretz dedicated to "improvisation and creation" plans sooner or later to teach modern American dance to non-professional German dancers. Later on dancing will be promoted as a form of leisure-time activity and non-verbal creativity and communication.

It is precisely this dual role that has been taken on in Remscheid, and the problem has been solved in most excellent fashion, especially when one remembers that these modern lay dance movements are still in their infancy.

While more than five hundred professional dancers have been training in Cologne only sixty were taken on in Remscheid, despite demand being greater.

Four dance styles are taught by four tutors: Primitive Dance, Modern Dance, Jazz Dance and Contemporary Dance.

Primitive Dance is a rather unfortunate expression. In America it has become the accepted term as a kind of neutral title for a kind of Afro-American isolation technique.

In France (as a result of the ethnological studies of the twenties and thirties influenced by the Surrealists) *dance primitive* still signifies the expression of the *âme primitive* which is close to the gods.

At the Remscheid meeting the tutor for Primitive Dance (Mme Magda Vandewalle from Belgium) explained this myth verbally. Primitive Dance is purely and simply the original dance of mankind. In practice, however, Mme Vandewalle's dance techniques were by and large African in nature: isolation of the head, shoulders, pelvis and legs.

Mme Vandewalle was previously unknown as a dance teacher in this country. She is a natural genius, completely possessed by rhythm and dance. She even even managed to convey genuine ecstasy to the German girls in her class.

Fred Traguth, something of a veteran of German Jazz Dance, has now developed into an excellent dance instructor. The successful work in Bonn with which he enhanced his reputation has given him greater maturity.

Traguth now divides his time between dancing Modern and teaching Jazz Dance. For this reason his classes are much clearer and would convince even a critical pupil.

Margit Heskett (Bowling Green University, Ohio) represents the second generation of Modern Dance. Her preceptor Erick Kawkins was a star dancer in the Martha Graham company between 1938 and 1951. Margit Heskett and her generation want on the one hand to go further than Martha Graham and on the other to go back beyond her. They feel bound by her Modern Dance and tend in either direction to escape it.

Thus Margit Heskett is searching for a new "basic technique". This freer, more agile Modern Dance will be applicable in German schools without any doubt.

Contemporary Dance, too, is still a vague term in America. It is used to cover any style which consciously veers from the "classical" Modern Dance of such as Merce Cunningham, Paul Taylor or even Alwin Nikolais.

These contemporaries attack Martha Graham for propagating a style which is as rigid and anti-liberal as the Classical Ballet she once condemned for this fault. Contemporary Dance seeks complete liberation. Paradoxically in the name of freedom Classical dance techniques have been given a new lease of life.

Contemporary Dance in Remscheid, as taught by Brigitte Trommler, a German living in the States, is in fact a rather motley synthesis. Classical Ballet, the Graham Technique, Jazz Isolations and completely free motion are seem together, enjoying complete emancipation.

Since most girls taking part did not know Classical techniques and were not acquainted with Classical terminology it was all a bit too much for them. Where schools are concerned this style is scarcely considered.

The four techniques were taught in the mornings while afternoons were devoted to free improvisation and creativity. No special techniques had to be mastered. Work was carried out in groups. The results were often excellent.

These courses made it clear that freedom and creativity are not compatible unless guided by some technique however liberal. But one thing is certain, the spaciousness of the Remscheid Academy makes it ideal as a centre for modern German lay dance movements in the future.

Helmut Günther

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 21 August 1973)

Continued from page 10

Everding and Friedrich came to Hamburg made it possible for the three institutions – University, Music College and Staatsoper – to cooperate on this venture. They are providing the tutors and making the new course of study possible without the need for new teaching staff to be signed on.

Hamburg's Senator for Cultural Affairs Reinhard Philipp is confident that the new course of study is a step on the way to an integrated polytechnical university in which such courses of study that bridge the disciplines will be the general rule.

Other courses leading to a diploma in the graphic and performing arts are being considered. These could make Hamburg into an important centre for training in drama and opera.

Erika Brenken

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 17 August 1973)

Bach Festival celebrates 25th anniversary

Many prominent people recently came to Ansbach for a week to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Bach Festival in the renovated Gumbertus-Kirche and the Orangerie-Saal.

Few of those people who established the Bach Festival 25 years ago in Schloss Pommersfeld attended. Neither Ferdinand Leitner not Ludwig Hoelscher were there. But there were a host of stars – including Szeryng, Nicolet and Sviatoslav Richter.

Another Richter – Karl Richter – is synonymous with the unrest that once spread over Ansbach. Karl Richter organised the Bach Festival for nine years until the first revolution occurred in 1964.

The "Friends of the Bach Festival" objected to his absolute control and Richter left, taking with him Carl Weymar, who had helped the Festival reach its climax.

Successor Rudolf Hetzer no longer had a great interpreter to dominate the Bach Festival, which takes place every two years, so he tried to make the best of it by arranging a cross-section of Bach as he is interpreted and played throughout the world.

The variety resulting from the appearance at the Festival of interpreters with differing stylistic ideas could bring with it the danger of informality. But it is wrong to rely on a small number of instrumentalists when it has proved impossible to engage committed Bach specialists.

Alongside Milstein and Szeryng there are a number of lesser-known violinists who are able to provide exciting renditions of Bach's music. One of the biggest surprises at this year's Festival was the emergence of three young musicians – organist Daniel Chorzempa, violinist Ulf Hoelscher with his fine construction and balance, and the rhythmically exciting Christoph Henkel on the cello. As "young" musicians they formed only the periphery of the programme – but they soon forced their way into the limelight.

Of course Sviatoslav Richter, the other great Richter, was the star of the Festival. It is hard to digest the disparate form and partially Late Romantic treatment contained in his personal interpretation of part two of the *Well-Tempered Clavier*.

The mind is confused by the alternation of delirious tempi with a harsh, sober quality and the deep, tender and thoughtful rendition of the fugues. At other times pathos alternates with reserves.

But the work was rendered so expressively and passionately that the effort of listening was worthwhile in the end. The frequent complaint that was not Bach only masks the fact that nobody today can say for sure just what Bach is.

The confusion Richter has caused could be beneficial as it underlines the irrelevance or even painfulness of the other concerts held under the auspices of the Bach Festival.

There may be special reasons why this year's soloists were on the whole so inadequate. Because of the holiday period the selection may not have been too great and there may not have been enough rehearsals.

But there is also a more profound reason. So many specialised ensembles have been formed in recent years that it is senseless to assume that a number of assorted musicians could achieve the same standard in such a short time – despite such excellent Bach conductors as Hanns Martin Schneidt and Diethard Hellmann.

It also verges on madness to ignore the original instrumentation which has led to a fresh and for the most part new understanding of Bach. The Concentus Musicus (Harnoncourt) and Collegium aureum have accomplished a good deal in this sector though neither ensemble appeared at Ansbach.

However, the Festival programme did have a number of highlights as far as both works and interpretations were concerned. There were a number of secular cantatas, good soloists (especially in the performance of the Mass in B Minor by the Mainz Bach Choir), the reconstruction of a Bach music lesson based on entries in Anna Magdalena Bach's notebook and two excellent concerts by the Academy of St Martin in the Fields.

They certainly added substance to Ansbach's claim of featuring relatively unknown Bach works and encouraging exceptional interpretations of the well-known items.

W.-E. von Lewinski

(Deutsche Zeitung, 17 August 1973)

■ SCIENCE

Mainz University team develops genetic method of pest control

DIE WELT

Myriads of gnats and midges are emerging from ponds and marshes – as well as from barrels of rain-water, swimming pools, empty tins and dungheaps – and spoiling people's holidays.

There is for example the *culex piplens* which lives in urban areas or the twelve *aedes* types which frequent woods. Soma are even members of the *anopheles* family, though they are not as harmful here as they are in more tropical climes. But whatever their species, war is declared on them whenever possible.

Warfare ranges from the minor skirmishes within one's own four walls to the major campaigns conducted by an enthusiastic local authority – and it is always chemical warfare.

Unfortunately, it is not only the gnats and midges that are killed. Another important fact to remember is that the gnat larvae that live exclusively in water form the staple diet of fish and themselves consume bacteria and plankton.

If they are destroyed by chemicals, various species of plankton can reproduce unchecked and pollute the water. Chemicals are harmful to the environment – but there are other weapons against gnats and midges as geneticists have discovered in recent experiments.

Research conducted at Mainz University's department of genetics is unique. Scientists at the university are trying to fight pests by means of purely genetic methods.

Pride of place at the genetics department is given to the well-known gnat *culex pipiens*. Hannes Laven, the professor of genetics and biology at the university, explains that the methods of genetic pesticide developed by his department are actually a by-product of biological investigations into the whole subject of heredity.

Culex pipiens possesses a peculiar and extraordinary genetic characteristic. If gnats of this species from different areas are crossed, one of three things may happen – reproduction may take place as normal, the number of offspring may drop or there may be no offspring at all.

"Our research has shown that *copulation* takes place as normal where the unproductive cross-breeding is concerned," Professor Laven explains. "But though the sperm penetrates the ovum it is prevented from combining with the nucleus of the egg because of factors existing in the plasma." This phenomenon is referred to as plasmatic incompatibility.

It was only a small step from this discovery to its application as a method of fighting pests without harming the environment. But it still took four years before the World Health Organisation decided to finance a limited experiment with the incompatibility system in 1967.

The site chosen for the experiment was a remote village in the Burmese jungle where the *culex pipens* is a carrier of filariosis, a disease that often manifests itself in the form of elephantiasis.

A total of 270,000 males bred in the laboratory were set free in this area over a period of twelve weeks. This number was chosen to balance the number already living in the area.

The results were startling. By the end of the fifth week of the experiment only eighty per cent of the eggs eventually porduced larvae. By the time ten weeks elapsed this figure had dropped to only thirty per cent. At the end of the twelfth week there were no more larvae.

Mainz University's department of genetics is also responsible for the development of another method of pest control which leads to the birth of the usual number of males but only a third or less of the usual number of females – and it is the females which are the actual blood suckers or carriers of diseases. Scientists hope that they will soon be able to produce species which give birth only to males.

If genetic methods of pesticide are to prove economic, Professor Laven claims, the species in question must be bred under laboratory conditions and their mass breeding must not be too expensive. Once this is the case the utilisation of these genetic tricks should prove more advantageous than all other methods. Pests gradually become resistant to chemical methods – but they cannot fight the genetic system. Another advantage is that genetic methods can be directed specifically towards one creature. No other animals are affected and the environment is not harmed in any way.

L Lukschanderl

(Die Welt, 4 August 1973)

Ice Age engravings on slate

(Photo: Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Universität Kö

Fifth series of digs at Neuwied site begin

At the beginning of July a team of archaeologists headed by Dr Gerhard Bosinski of Cologne Univversity's ancient history department began their fifth series of excavations at a huntsmen's camp dating from the Ice Age at Neuwied. The camp was discovered in 1968.

During the first excavations in 1968 it appeared obvious that the site would be of paramount importance for the study of the prehistorical period in Germany and Central Europe.

The next three series of excavations did more than confirm this cautious forecast. The findings exceeded the researcher's wildest dreams. The remains of the old Stone Age settlement discovered on the northern edge of the Neuwied basin between two layers of volcanic rock are unique both as regards quality and quantity.

A total of 429 square metres of the fourteen-thousand-year-old site have so far been excavated and archaeologists have already discovered more than ten thousand flint and quartzite implements and tools made of bone, horn and mammoth ivory.

The most precious discoveries are the more that two thousand examples of decorative art – for instance a wooden necklace and fifteen small female figures carved from ivory and horn. These Venus figures appear individually, in groups or in dance formations. About two hundred figures of the same type are engraved in slate.

All these products belong stylistically to the Magdalenian civilisation (15000-10000 BC). The typical features of these early depictions of the human form are their lack of a head and the brief indications of arms and legs.

But everything else is represented. The figures have large breasts and immense buttocks. It has still not been decided whether they were used as part of a fertility cult, whether they represent the Ice Age idea of beauty or whether they are an expression of a religious ideology marked by sublime sex.

The animal portraits are more realistic. The wild horses, reindeer, oxen, mammoths, woolly-haired rhinoceroses, wolves, bears, foxes, birds and fish scratched on the slate reflect the huntsmen's keen gifts of observation.

One of the most beautiful pictures is that of a wild horse's head. The unknown artist has employed only a few wavy lines to put across the impression of a flowing mane.

Among the other discoveries made at the site are more than two hundred small discs with a hole bored through the middle: It is still not known what they were used for. The only remains so far found of the Ice Age men themselves are a few teeth.

The Stone Age camp was discovered when laying the foundations for a bungalow. As a wine cellar was to be built built under it, the workmen employed on the construction site had to dig more deeply than usual. Thanks to the architect's powers of observation, the ancient site was discovered and its importance for the study of prehistory recognised.

The current series of excavations is due to continue until the autumn. The Research Association has provided financial assistance so that further excavations can take place.

Gerhard Taube

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 29 July 1973)

Behaviouralists teach birds to whistle folk-songs

Bremer Nachrichten

Visitors to the Max Planck Institute for Behavioural Physiology in Seewiesen could not believe their ears when they suddenly heard a bullfinch give a first-class rendition of the folk-song *Im grünen Wald, dort wo die Drossel singt*.

Dr Jürgen Nicolai, one of the members of staff at the Institute, owns a number of bullfinches that can recognise the acoustic form of folk-songs. He is using them to study birds' acoustic abilities.

The bullfinches are taken out of the nest at the age of ten to twelve days an important part in their life and they come to regard him as one of their species.

Once they are three weeks old two folk songs are whistled to them repeatedly – and always in the same order. The couplets chosen are either *Im grünen Wald, dort wo die Drossel singt* and *Abend wird es wieder* or *Der Jäger aus Kurpfalz* and *Goldne Abendsonne*.

Under natural conditions young bullfinches are fed by both parents until they are about two weeks old, after which they are fed exclusively by the father. They then become independent and leave their parents.

The fact that it is the *male* bird alone that takes care of them in the two weeks befor they leave the nest nest results in the young birds' having a close link with their father. The young males try to learn every detail of their father's song.

When they are brought up by human beings and their life therefore centres around they young male bullfinches concentrate their learning instincts on the person who took care fo them and whom they therefore accept as a father substitute.

By the time they have heard the two folk-songs day in day out for as long as six months they are able to whistle them perfectly as regards tone, rhythm and tempo.

The birds' teacher always whistles the two folk-songs at the same pitch. The bullfinches learn to whistle the songs at this pitch but when their training is over they are able to whistle them at a different pitch, usually higher in tone, even though they have never before heard the songs whistled in this way.

They can also differentiate between the two songs they have been taught. They often sing either the first or second song on its own and not as a couplet, indicating that they recognise the songs as separate entities.

If a bullfinch gets stuck at some point of his repertoire, it behaves in similar fashion to a child who recites a poem and forgets the words. It starts again at the very beginning and continues this procedure until it has managed to whistle the passage causing difficulties.

Bullfinches also whistle the folk-songs during courtship. If its teacher interrupts the bird and whistles the passage immediately following, the bullfinch will cease whistling, resume at the point where its human partner finishes and whistle the tune to the end. The bullfinch can be interrupted at any time and a sort of musical conversation then takes place between the bird and its human mentor.

Horst Meermann

(Bremer Nachrichten, 4 August 1973)

■ EDUCATION

Hamburg introduces drastic reforms in school syllabuses

Hamburg is the first Federal state to reform the syllabuses used in the city's schools in an attempt to modernise the school education system. The new guidelines took effect on 20 August, the first day of the new academic year, and will be tested until 1 February 1974 before being finally adopted.

Hamburg's education authority has set this trial period in order to incorporate the schools' own suggestions for improvements into the reform. Hamburg's Education Senator, Günter Apel, SPD, stated that the changes proposed have been drawn up not by esoteric theorists but by a large number of experts. During the course of the past two years 524 teachers, lecturers and members of study seminars have sat on various committees to draw up the plans.

The aim of the reform is to remove much of the dead wood from the syllabus. "I could always read Shakespeare with the English I learned at school, but never order a steak when I was in England," Apel comments.

Pupils should be provided with tuition that corresponds to the requirements of the contemporary and future age. Apel describes the new guidelines – which fill three volumes with some two thousand pages – as the nucleus of educational reform.

One of the major features of the new overall conception is, Apel claims, the modification of the elementary school syllabus. This represents an important step towards elementary school reform.

Though the proportion of time devoted to the arts remains the same, more emphasis is being placed on practical education. All mathematics syllabuses for instance will be changed in order to incorporate a number of elements of "new mathematics".

Social science and politics will be given greater attention than was previously the case but it is expressly stated in the guidelines that teachers must not force their views upon pupils in civics classes.

Cases of conflict automatically played a major role in the syllabus for civics classes in the past. Conflict and the rules to resolve it in a democracy are an essential feature of politics.

But at the same time the new guidelines ensure that teachers will also turn to the structure of our society and its historical background. Apel cited an example of what this entails. Pupils in classes five to ten of elementary and secondary modern schools who study "parliamentary democracy in the Federal Republic" in their civics classes will be able to compare quotations by Rudi Dutschke ("Political parties can only be utilised as instruments of the executive") and Professor Kurt Sontheimer ("Parliamentary democracy must guard itself against the totalitarian claims of both sides' ideology").

German lessons will centre around the three main complexes of communication, texts of all types and discussions on the essence of language, including socio-linguistic aspects. Grammar and the study of sentence structure will also form part of the syllabus. Literature too will be dealt with in German classes but less emphasis wil be placed in literary history.

The purpose of works of art will be discussed in art classes, the guidelines state. Religious instruction too will be reformed and its links with social science investigated.

Foreign language tuition will concentrate on the colloquial language and on the culture of the country or countries in question. Pupils should learn to be able to chat with people of their own age in France or Britain for example.

The new syllabuses for what used to be called *Heimatkunde* – the study of local history and topography – will place greater store on "factual tuition" than "formative values".

Pupils will be confronted with the problems of their environment – the grievances raised by the local population for example and the shortage of playgrounds in the area. But they will also learn how Hamburg's modern container terminal operates.

Girls will no longer be bored to tears knitting egg-warmers or embroidering aprons but will learn all about running a modern home. Instruction will range from operating modern home appliances to shopping correctly. Boys need no longer despair over their fretwork but will be instructed in technology instead.

All the new syllabuses outlined under the reform give priority to teaching pupils to solve problems on their own instead of merely drumming knowledge into them.

"Pupils in Hamburg should then have the critical faculties to recognise and make use of their basic democratic rights when they grow up," Apel comments. He realises that the new syllabuses place high demands on teachers but he believes they will cooperate.

But the strain on pupils will diminish as the number of lessons per week have been cut. There will be two lessons a week less for classes five to ten. But class one to four pupils and senior high-school pupils will be given more lessons.

Gert Kistenmacher

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 17 August 1973)

Central admissions bureau coordinates university applications



The Central University Admissions Office recently stated in Dortmund that 17,316 applicants could expect to obtain a place at an institute of further education in the 1973 winter term.

So far 62,000 applications have been made for a university place. A total of 65,000 are expected before the time limit elapses, This is the first time that university applications in this country have been made via a central bureau.

The courses of study covered by the central admissions office are those subject to numerical entry restrictions – architecture, biochemistry, biology, chemistry, dentistry, foodstuffs chemistry, medicine, pharmacy, psychology and veterinary science.

The new ruling also applies to all students of education planning to teach at secondary schools when they choose a combination of courses including biology or chemistry.

The Central Admissions Office states that the average grade school-leavers obtain in their school- leaving examinations is 2.9. To rule out discrepancies between the various Federal states, applicants from Bavaria have a 0.3 handicap imposed upon them and those from Schleswig-Holstein a 0.1 handicap. Applicants from Berlin, Hamburg and North Rhine-Westphalia have their grades improved by 0.2 per cent.

(Die Welt, 16 July 1973)

■ SPORT

Munich's Olympic buildings have lost much of their 1972 glitter already

A year after the Olympics Munich has been brought back down to Earth with a vengeance. The most expensive Olympic Games ever are continuing to cost the city dearly. Most of the sports facilities and Olympic buildings erected at a cost of thousands of millions of Marks and with an unthinking determination to achieve perfection now stand empty, in mothballs and in a general state of decay.

Thick brown stains disfigure the roof of the Olympic swimming pool, only recently dubbed the Neuschwanstein of swimming baths because of a supposed resemblance in architectural elegance to King Ludwig II of Bavaria's fairy-tale nineteenth-century castle in the Alps. The same is true of the marquee roof over the arena in which, a year ago, the Soviet women gymnasts won their gold medals.

The transparent marquee roof spanning the major Olympic arenas is no longer as trasparent as it used to be. Ugly brown stains in the synthetic roofing are the result of temperatures of ninety degrees centigrade in the burning sunlight (only sixty degrees had been expected). The blue and white Bavarian skies no longer shine through as intended.

Expensive repairs are needed to get rid of the stains (repairs are needed left, right and centre, for that matter), but the roof will remain opaque regardless. Gone are the days when it was transparent. Yet viewed from the TV tower it remains a beautiful sight, perched on top of the Olympics complex like a silver dragon.

Architect Behnisch looks like having to wait a long time yet before receiving payment of the 21.2 million Marks in fees ha is demanding, though he has received an initial payment of 11.2 million.

The aftermath of the Olympics will keep lawyers in business for years. The holding company responsible for supervising the construction of Olympic facilities has been engaged in 25 lawsuits so far since the end of the Games. A number of them have already been brought to a successful conclusion, but others will drag on for ages.

What does Willi Daume's work of art, the million square metres of the Olympiapark, look like now, a year after the Games that got off to such a spendid start? Does the general public still remember the event to which it owes the existence of the Olympic complex at Oberwiesenfeld?

It would be unfair to answer Daume's question with a straight "no." The general public still tour the Olympiapark, large numbers of them walking along the routes signposted between the arenas.

They make the ascent of the Schuttberg and look down delightedly at the variety that has been incorporated into what used to be a flat and monotonous area. They pay two Marks to tour the grounds on a blue and white narrow-gauge railway. They willingly allow themselves to be shepherded around by hostesses in Olympic blue who bombard them with a plethora of facts and figures.

Yet the Olympic grounds are still not popular in the sense that Disneyland or the Tivoli amusement park in Copenhagen are. They do not even stand comparison with a younger and sprightlier version of, say, Hyde Park.

They lack a snug, cosy, heart-warming atmosphere. A squad of cleaners trudge around keeping the place tidy while a platoon of private detectives wearing a brown uniform, a sheriff's star and a ten-gallon hat patrol the grounds brandishing loud-hailers. Necessary the staff may be but they do not exactly make you feel at home and at your ease.

The people of Munich have had to wait a whole year before being able to use the Olympic swimming pool. "The world's most up-to-date indoor pool in open-air surroundings" was in need of costly repairs and conversion, and the surrounding lawns for sun-bathers are still not ready.

This was the pool where Mark Spitz of the United States won his seven gold medals. Bathers who now follow in his footsteps, as it were, must feel that there has been a change for the worse, though.

To pass through the initial turnstile you need three Marks in silver, but there are machines at the ready to provide you with small change in return for notes. You put the three Marks in the required slot and out pops a metal token with a hole in the middle.

The metal token is then placed in another slot to work the turnstile and must be retrieved at the other side, for after changing you need the token to secure your locker. The token has to be inserted into a little perspex container before the key can removed from the lock.

On your way out you must remember to replace the key and retrieve the token; for otherwise you cannot pass through the turnstile back into the world outside. And anyone who has been at the baths for longer than three hours has to pay more anyhow. The token is specially marked.

The whole system is doubtless logical, foolproof and works like clockwork but — one is bound to add — it is not what you might call superabundant as regards the human touch. Bathers must feel they are treated like robots.

Local people have a more enjoyable time of it at Feldmoching, the northern suburb where the Olympic rowing regatta was held. At long last the general public are officially allowed to bathe in the clear water of the regatta basin, which is thirty metres wide and 500 long. The empty stands look like something left over from the Siegfried line but the water is a refreshing seventeen degrees centigrade (63 Fahrenheit) and it costs nothing. Unofficially people have been taking a dip there for some time.

Maintaining the regatta basin costs a million and a half Marks a year, and Bonn, Bavaria and Munich argued the toss for so long that they eventually reached agreement on sharing out the bill. Expenditure seems likely to become the most enduring feature of the Munich Olympics and their aftermath. "The world's most beautiful show-jumping arena" in Riem, Munich's airport suburb, (the reader will notice that the Olympic organisers were fulsome in their choice of epithets) has gone to the dogs. Since the Olympics it has hosted not a single tournament or gymkhana — only an Alsatian dog show! The roof of the stand has started to leak. The turf is turning a nasty yellow. The stables are empty and their automatic doors are starting to creak. Sixteen million Marks are going to rack and ruin. Show-jumping tournaments are held at Aachen, not at Riem.

Surely the powers that be must have realised that there would be no call for the show-jumping facilities after the Olympics. Either way, they were blinded by the desire to provide the biggest and best.

The cycle track is also in poor shape. In wet weather it can be dangerously slippery. There are now tennis courts in the middle of the track.

Visitors to the Olympic grounds invariably end up at the main stadium, which was filled to capacity recently for the first and so far last time since the Games themselves. Eighty thousand Jehovah's Witnesses, each sporting a badge marked "Divine Victory", listened to evangelical addresses delivered by their spiritual leaders.

The Olympic Stadium is ideally suited for field and track athletics but is less suitable for football. Its floodlighting costs three times as much as the equipment in other, comparable stadiums. But the marquee roof, which only covers one side of the stadium, is still transparent.

Memories of what the Olympic grounds were like in that first euphoric week of the Games overwhelm everyone who revisits them with feeling of nostalgia.

You sit in the empty *Teatron*, a perfect open-air theatre with superb acoustics of which next ot no use is now made, and remember how alive it was a year ago. The artificial lake is bereft of swans and looks drab and dirty, full of algae. The fountain seldom works.

Behind the waterworks there was the much-maligned, much-vaunted *Spielstrasse* (Play Street), which certainly drew and fascinated the crowds, whatever else might be said for and against it.

The people of Munich arrived in droves, father and mother, children and bikes, prams and dogs, to see for themselves the street theatre companies from New York, Berlin, Tokyo and Rome, the puppet theatre from Sweden, the Japanese in white make-up and the grand magical circus from Paris.

Local people mixed delightedly with the actors, musicians, painters, artists and dancers, watched them, exchanged views about them, generally amused themselves and took possession of the nearby hillocks for picnics.

White, green and sky-blue flags waved and for the first week the Games really were exhilarating. Everyone felt transported from the workaday world. Then came Black September and the massacre of Israeli athletes that put an end to the enjoyment and very nearly to the Games themselves.

The name Connollystrasse and the horror of the masked terrorists flashed across millions of TV screens around the world will not be forgotten. The Israeli team's quarters are still empty, although the window-panes are covered with thousands of finger- and noseprints.

A marble plaque lists the names of the hostages who died. Visitors continually stop and look, moved yet curious, and take out their cameras.

Negotiations have taken place between the city authorities, who purchased these particular buildings, and the Institute for Current Affairs, which intended to convert the Israeli quarters into a guest house or a youth centre. But nothing came of them. Not enough money was available.

The eight- and twelve-storey blocks on the other side of the road are still virtually empty. Five, or at best seven, name-plates contain names. Often enough the caretakers seem to be on their own.

DIE ZEIT

Süddeutsche Zeitung has dubbed the Olympic Village and its unsaleable concrete blocks a gruesome ghost town.

The newspaper's financial pages list fact and figures. "2,621 apartments are for sale. Only 1,145 of them have so far been sold. Barely 43 per cent. The remainder are costing the five builders and the banks twenty million Marks a year in interest payments."

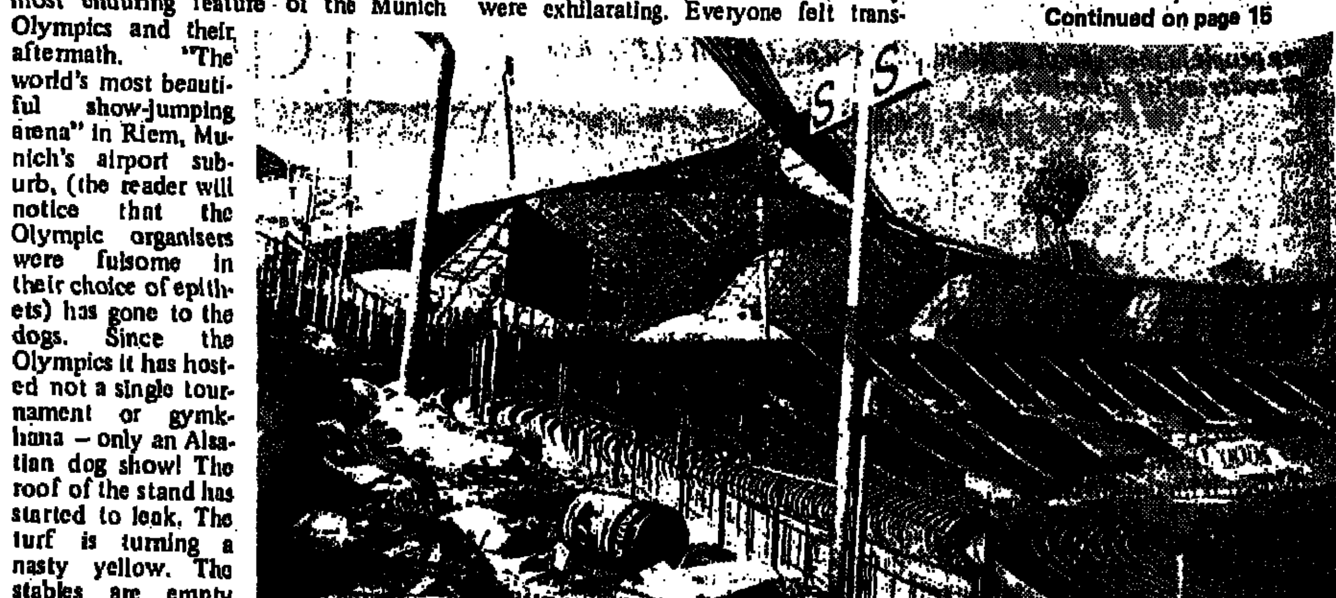
Estate agents are quick to point out that the Olympic Village boasts peace, quiet, a convenient location, a good shopping facilities, kindergartens and sports centres, but the prices asked are too high.

The most inexpensive one-room apartment with 35 square metres (42 square yards) of floor space costs 67,000 Marks. The dearest, a penthouse apartment, costs roughly 480,000 Marks. What is more, for larger apartments the monthly payment towards communal heating, lighting and refuse disposal can amount to as much as 350 Marks.

The 700 Olympic villagers (600 apartments are still unoccupied) are enthusiastic about life in the Olympiapark alongside their most high-ranking neighbour, Hans-Jochen Vogel, one-time Oberbürgermeister of Munich and now Minister of Town Planning in Bonn.

They must know, of course, but visitors here for a Sunday walk find the Village depressing even in bright sunshine. Everything is made of either stone or concrete: the houses, the stairways, the

Continued on page 15



Munich's Olympic Stadium on the morning after (Photo: Heinz Gebhardt)

■ OUR WORLD

Birth rate situation not so bad

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

People in this country need no longer lose sleep over the question of the declining birth rate, according to Hermann Schubnell, director of the newly-founded Federal Institute for Population Research, Wiesbaden. The Institute has made a survey on behalf of the Youth and Family Affairs Ministry using material that has not before been used. The fall in the number of births does not endanger social progress, the survey claims.

If Schubnell is right people in this country have worried needlessly about this development since 1967 the year in which the decline in births became dramatic.

This anxiety reached a peak last year when the number of deaths exceeded births by 29,000. Worried politicians and scientists became prophets of doom. Slogans such as "the Germans are dying out" and "Who will pay our pensions" were heard. Pessimists envisaged a social catastrophe and the end of economic growth. Survival would only be possible by taking in the excess births in the Balkans. The reasons given for and the results of the decline in the birth rate were ridiculous.

Some experts maintained that the low birth rate endangered future prosperity. Other experts claim that our prosperity has caused the declining numbers of babies born.

The facts are that last year 701,000 children were born, 364,000 less than in the peak year 1964. The population statistics showed for 1960 an excess of births over deaths of 325,000 but last year there was an excess of deaths over births of 29,000. This imbalance would have been 109,000 if the three million *Gastarbeiter* (foreign workers) in this country not had so many children. Increases in the total population, according to Hermann Schubnell, which rose from 55.5 million in 1960 to 61.7 in 1972 were due entirely to the influx of foreign workers, during the sixties.

Hermann Schubnell is also bamboozled by the reasons for the decline in the birth rate. There is an idea going the rounds in the Federal Republic that urbanisation, which has greatly increased in the past few years although city life is not particularly conducive to having children and is in itself an unsuitable environment for children, is a contributory factor.

In 1971 there were 10.6 births for every 1,000 people living in large cities while in the country the figure was 14.3. But the decline in the birth rate is sharper in the country than in major cities. Only in small communities of 2,000 inhabitants is the two-child family coming back into fashion.

Schubnell proves that religious beliefs have little influence. Regional breakdowns show few basic differences. On average in the Federal Republic there are for every 1,000 inhabitants 12.7 births. In Bavaria the figure was 12.9, in Schleswig-Holstein 13.3, in Lower Saxony 13.6 and in Baden-Württemberg 13.7. Last in line were Hamburg with 9.9 and Berlin with 9.8 births per 1,000 population.

One interesting fact is the figures for the Saar, a Federal state that once had a high birth rate. The decline in births reached 43.3 per cent.

Herr Schubnell said that one of the main reasons for the drop in births was the increase in the number of women at work. Between 1961 and 1971 the number of married women increased by 900,000. In these same ten years the number of married women going out to work went up by 600,000. Of every 100 women of childbearing age 44 are today employed outside the home.

Again and again we have heard in recent years "It's the fault of the Pill". But the Schubnell analysis of the situation vindicates the contraceptive pill. He admits that one in four women of childbearing age take the Pill (a massive increase since 1964 when it was only one in fifty). But in his opinion it was not the existence of the Pill, but the intent to use it, that caused the dearth of babies.

Schubnell said that sex without procreation and the general stripping of taboos from the sphere of sexuality should not be condemned for cutting the population but praised as a step towards the progress of mankind towards greater maturity and indepedence.

And the idea that prosperity leads to a distaste for large families is dismissed by Schubnell as a myth. The old idea that the poorest parents have the largest number of offspring no longer applies.

Horst Zimmermann

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 6 August 1973)

Naughty diplomats in Bonn

Monks of a holy order in Bonn are owed 40,000 Marks for rent. In the space of two years diplomats have "totally demolished and ruined" a house and garden belonging to a Bonn citizen. They hardly ever pay the monthly bills run up at petrol stations in the Bonn/Cologne area. A wine and spirits merchant was manhandled and shoved out of the front door when he personally called to collect an unpaid bill.

People in Bonn are not all that happy about the 5,000 diplomats from 120 countries that live in their midst. Tradesmen complain that repair bills are never paid. Doctors have to wait years before their accounts are settled. Social welfare departments are expected to cough up to clinics to pay the costs incurred by "diplomatic" patients from abroad. People who have claims as a result of road accidents try to get payment in vain and insurance companies are not much more successful. Bonn

Frankfurter Neue Presse

police have given up in resignation trying to collect parking fines from offenders who work at embassies and consulates. A real estate deal is about to place a lien on the bank account of a Russian diplomat who has refused to pay the commissions originally agreed upon for the purchase of a plot of land.

"In this situation anything is possible," commented Alo Hauser, a CDU Bundestag member who has compiled a dossier on "Diplomatic offences" which records cases without naming names.

Alo Hauser, who has bombarded the Bonn government with proposals for Bills that would give citizens greater protection from "unfair officials attached to diplomatic missions in this country", admits that those countries with long traditions in diplomacy, such as Britain, France, the United States and even the Russians who can be prickly in some ways, rarely cause trouble.

What vexes Bonn citizens and Alo Hauser most is that most "diplomatic complications" do not involve diplomats who carry the red diplomatic pass but people attached to the embassy such as cooks, chauffeurs, maids, gardeners or minor officials who carry blue or yellow passes, which, according to article 31 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations agreed upon in April 1961, have no right to diplomatic immunity, unless the guest country offers them better conditions. The Federal Republic does just that.

In a regulation issued in 1877 articles 18 and 19 laid down that that embassy staff were granted the same privileges as the diplomats themselves.

Alo Hauser and his SPD colleague Ostman von der Leye and the FDP lawyer Kleinert would like to have this regulation altered.

Hauser is in favour of striking out these regulations altogether because the Vienna Convention, ratified in the Federal Republic on 13 August 1964, is still valid in this country.

Ostman and Kleinert are anxious to have inserted in the regulations a clarification of the position as regards embassy staff so that States that are not signatories to the Vienna Convention, which applied to the GDR until a year ago, would be covered.

But on one thing all three are in agreement: the situation as regard "full immunity" must be altered and limited.

The foreign affairs committee of the Bundestag ha already considered this matter. Proposals will be given a second reading in the Bundestag as soon as the summer recess is over.

The most ludicrous case involves the Catholic order that has had a loan from the Foreign Office to build accommodation that would provide an income so that the fathers could study at Bonn University. The condition attached was that the Foreign Office had the right to send tenants to take up the accommodation.

Although diplomatic tenants have incurred debts to the Fathers of 40,000 Marks the Foreign Office continues to send diplomatic staff to take the accommodation available.

Getting money from the Russians is extremely difficult as the Bonn real estate agent found out. All his demands for payment were ignored. He said: "If they wont pay the bank must take a lien on the money." *Karlheinz von den Driesch*

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 18 August 1973)

Continued from page 14

roads, the squares, the pillars, the springs, even the children's playgrounds.

Here and there are lawns and even trees in which birds hesitantly twitter. But what is comspicuous by its total absence is the quality of being lived in. The Olympic Village lacks urbanity. More specifically, it lacks bars, cinemas, restaurants, corner shops.

Weeds littler the empty balconies opening out on to empty gardens. The impression is an eerie one and it is hardly surprising that at night even unoccupied apartments are kept lit, that police patrol cars are continually on the prowl and that caretakers have committed the phone numbers of their nearest police stations to memory.

A pressure group calling itself Olympia 1973 has threatened to organise a mass squat in the unoccupied houses, quoting Brecht by way of justification.

None of all this applies to the student village, of course. The skyscrapers and squat dwellings of the erstwhile part of the Olympic Village where women athletes stayed are full to overflowing.

Yet to quote a junior lecturer at the University, it is only too easy to visualise a time in the none too distant future when the nineteen-storey skyscrapers will be uninhabitable slums.

The walls and ceilings are too thin. You can hear your next-door neighbour coughing. The electricians have done shoddy work too. The lifts are full of graffiti. Door-bells no longer work. Rain dribbles from one balcony to the next, sometimes into the rooms.

The student accommodation, it is claimed, is cheap and bad. Most of the inhabitants are in a fractious mood. One student has already committed suicide by jumping from the roof of a nineteen-storey building.

The miniature dwellings in the women's village create a slightly different impression, though they too are somewhat off-putting for the visitor, concrete barracks huddled together brutally.

The miniature houses are so close together that you cannot fail to see the white of your neighbour's eye, say ten feet away on the next balcony. Mind you, these miniature houses are better arranged than the skyscrapers.

Downstairs there is a kitchen, two beds, shelves and a plastic one-piece bathroom with a shower and toilet. Upstairs is the studio and the balcony. Students who live here are satisfied. Some have painted their homes, flowers and window-boxes are everywhere in evidence, blue and white Bavarian flags on which a red star is superimposed are draped here and there, and posters, paintings and slogans give windows an individual touch.

On warm summer evenings the bungalow village (for want of a better term) reminds you of Naples. Somewhere beat music will be thumping out into the night and automatically a party atmosphere is generated.

You have no option but to join the happy throng, one girl student says. There is no escaping the noise and once you succumb to the temptation to down books and join in you find the good humour infectious.

Did the Munich Olympics deserve a gold medal, Thomas Wolf asked in a second-channel TV programme on the aftermath of the Games. Not, perhaps, gold, but bronze might well be more appropriate. Bronze soon gains a patina of verdigris and then tends to look rather picturesque. *Ursula von Kardorff*

(Die Zeit, 24 August 1973)

Largest apartments in Europe

DIE WELT

Apartments in this country are, statistically speaking, the largest in the world, according to an annual United Nations survey for Europe. By the same token the country that builds the smallest new housing units is the Soviet Union.

UN statistics for 1961 to 1971 invariably list this country as the builder of the largest new apartments. In 1961 the average floor space of new apartments in this country was 72.9 square metres, followed by Sweden with 69.1, France with 66.7, Poland with 54.4 and the Soviet Union with 41.8 square metres.

The Netherlands were not included in the 1961 statistics but the following year Holland came in fourth place ahead of Poland with 59 square metres.

By 1971 there had been a general increase in size, but the Federal Republic still headed the list with an average apartment size of 84.6 square metres, followed by Sweden with 79.1, France with 76.8, Holland with seventy, Poland with 55.8 and the Soviet Union with 47.1 square metres. (Die Welt, 1 September 1973)